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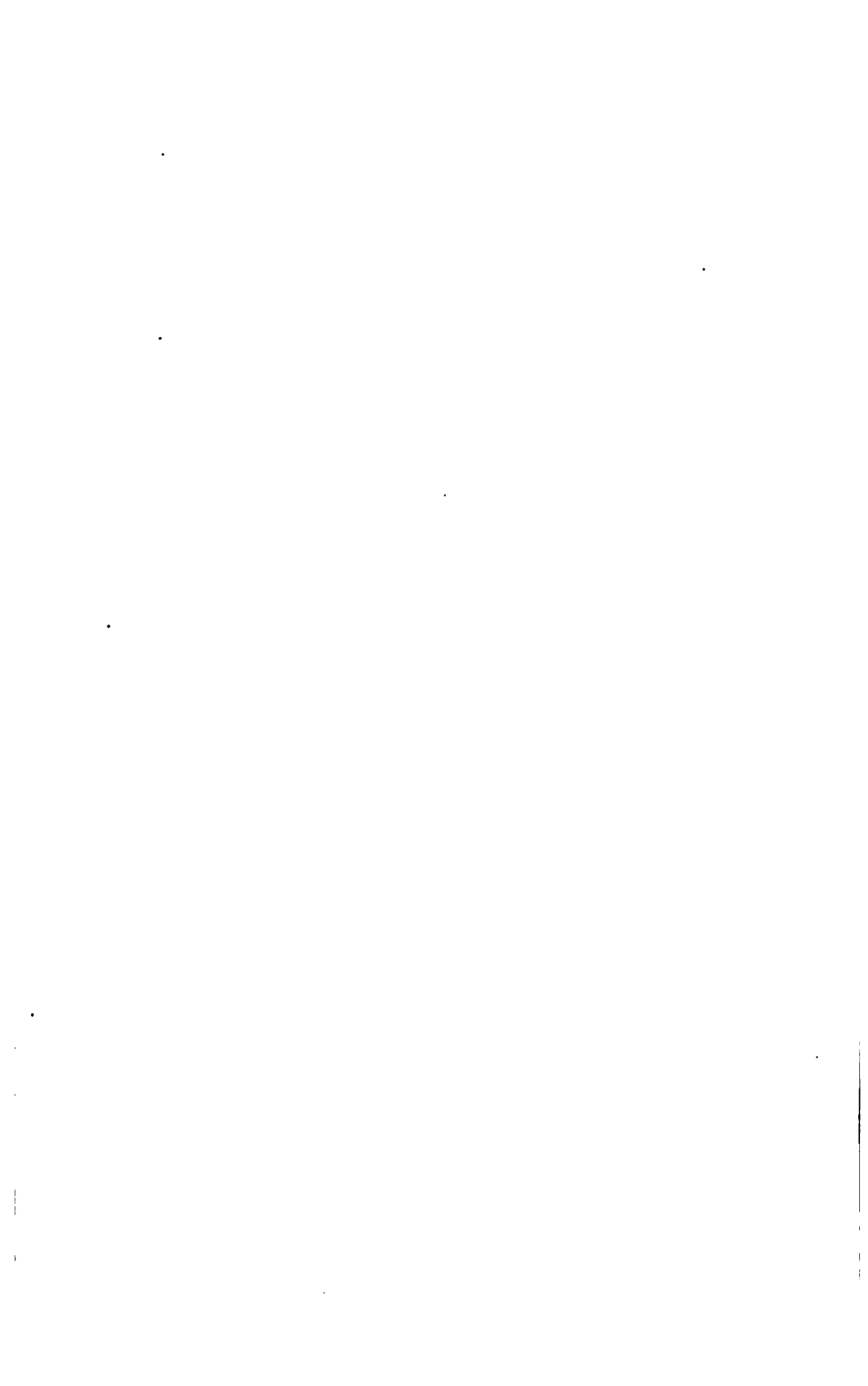
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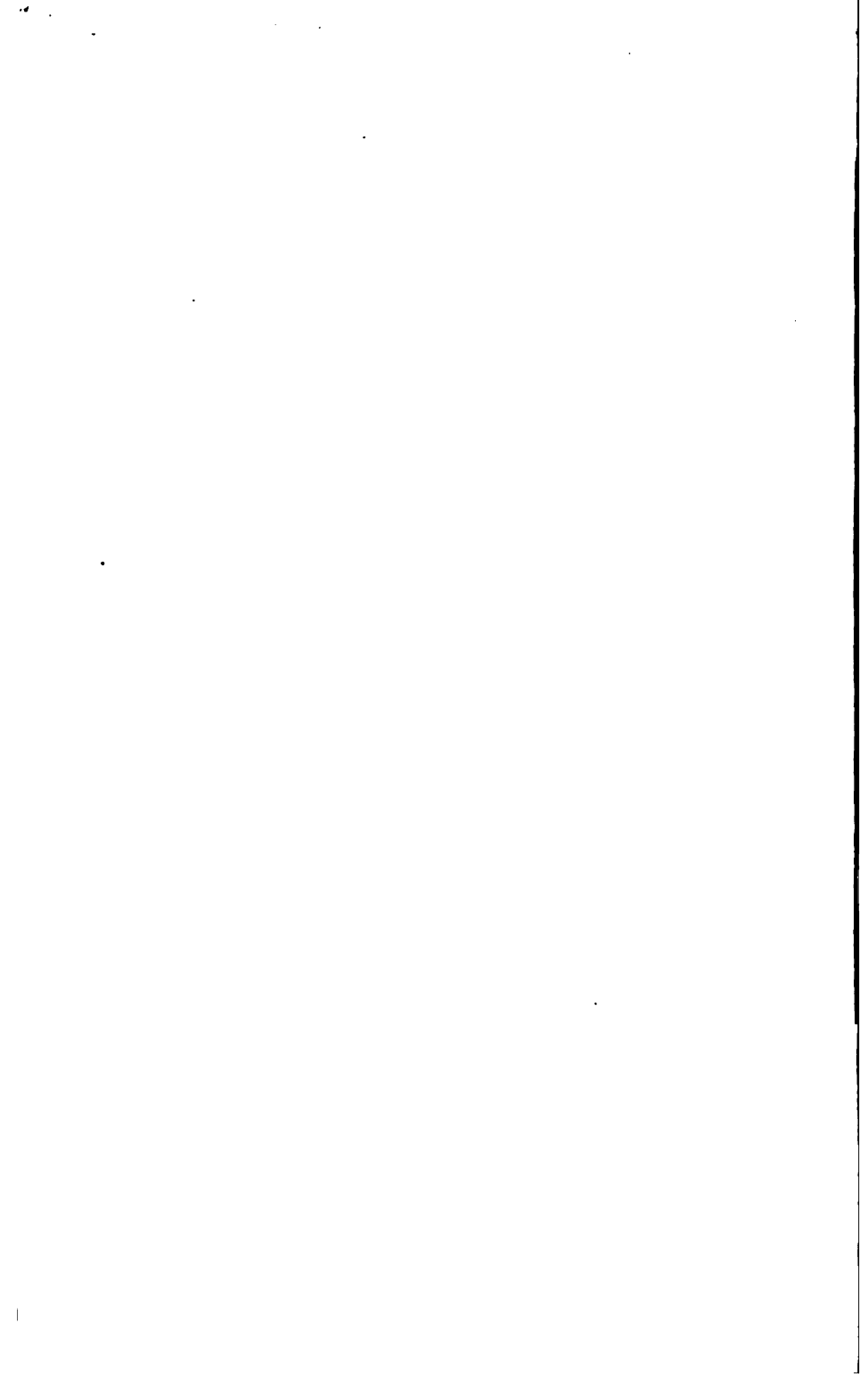
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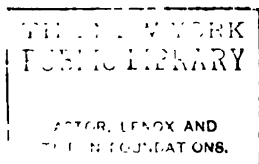
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A Cornish Parish.







ST. AUSTELL CHURCH TOWER.

After a Photograph by Mr. W. H. Cowan.

A Cornish Parish:

BEING

AN ACCOUNT OF ST. AUSTELL,
TOWN, CHURCH, DISTRICT AND PEOPLE.

BY

JOSEPH HAMMOND, LL.B.,

VICAR;

Author of "Church or Chapel?—an Eirenicon"; "Concerning the Church," etc.

"GREEN FIELDS OF ENGLAND, WHERESOEVER
ACROSS THE WATERY WASTE WE FARE,
YOUR IMAGE IN OUR HEARTS WE BEAR,
GREEN FIELDS OF ENGLAND, EVERYWHERE."

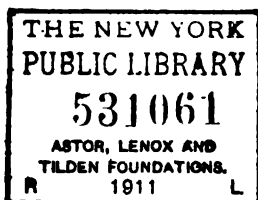
—A. H. Clough.

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1897.



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Preface.

EVER since I came to St. Austell, now fifteen years ago, I have had the idea of some day publishing my impressions of the place and its people. For I had not been here many weeks before I discovered that Cornwall was to me, as I believe it is to the majority of Englishmen, a *terra incognita*. It was some time indeed, some months at least, before I could divest myself of the feeling that I was living on an island. At first I ascribed this impression to the broad sheet of water, the bosom of the Tamar, that I had crossed at Saltash, but I came later on to connect it, and I believe rightly, with the insularity of the people and the aspect of the country, for both Cornwall and the Cornish differ, as it seems to me, in a hundred ways—some of them, no doubt, sufficiently minute, but still sharp and precise—from the rest of England. It was said by the late Lord Coleridge that the Devonshire folk form a separate and distinct community, with peculiarities all their own; the same may be affirmed, and with even a greater degree of truth, of the Cornish. In spite of all the travel and emigration, and of the considerable numbers who have lived in foreign parts and then returned to us, the Cornishman remains *sui generis*; even in the Far West, as Mr. R. L. Stevenson has testified, he retains his individuality and isolation—*caelum non animum mutat*: how much more those who have never seen a railway, or have never gone ten miles from their native heath. Anyhow, what I saw and heard, what I was daily seeing and hearing, left on me the impression that I had settled in a land unlike my native

St. Austell, 1875.

land, the realm of the Angles and Saxons. Nor was I, I find, at all singular in labouring under the idea that I had pitched my tent among aliens. Mr. Walter White, for example, whose *Londoner's Walk to the Land's End* was published in 1855, tells us that "under the influence of these strange names, the peculiarities of the people, and the unfamiliar landscape features, it seemed to" him that he "was in a foreign country," "and I often," he adds, "caught myself saying in conversation, 'When I get back to England,' " etc.¹ And I may almost cite the Cornish themselves as witnessing to a like impression, for to this day they constantly speak of Englishmen east of the Tamar as "foreigners." However, rightly or wrongly, I *had* this feeling, and it led me to study my new neighbours with a degree of interest and curiosity which I had never experienced before—at least within our four seas. And every day I found something to interest me, some quaint characteristic, some local custom, some odd superstition, some trick of speech. Things familiar enough to Cornishmen, and never noticed by them, had to me all the charm of novelty, and so, believing that others would find as much pleasure in reading of these traits and features of *our* Far West as I had felt in discovering them, I was minded from an early day to put my impressions into print, and before two years had passed I had collected a considerable amount of material, which I intended to serve up some day in a light and airy fashion in one of the magazines.

That I have not done so is due partly to the fact that I have had other and larger fish than the Cornish pilchard to fry—a parish like this does not leave much time for literature,

¹ The very week that I write this, a visitor in my house has volunteered a similar testimony. And it has been remarked (in *The Times* of Oct. 30th, 1896) that "There are natives of the South of England who will tell you that a visit to the North is to them always the same kind of experience as that of a visit to a foreign country."

and what time I had was engrossed by other and weightier work—and partly to the discovery that I had got a good deal more to say—so I was vain enough to think—than I could compress into any magazine article. For I found myself not only domiciled amongst a strange people, but the custodian for the time being of a Church of singular interest and beauty, one which, to the best of my belief, stands alone amongst the parish Churches of England in respect of its carvings, its silent gospel in stone ; a Church, too, possessed of registers and records which, so far as I know, have never been carefully examined, or if they have, the results have never been published. It will hardly be wondered at that I came to consider it as almost a part of my vicarial duty to describe the Church and to digest and display its archives. I found myself at the same time the *persona* of a parish whose history and antiquities had never been described, except cursorily, as, for example, by county historians as a part of a larger work.¹ There are “Accounts of St. Austell” not a few, but they are imbedded in volumes which embrace the whole county in their range : if any one had inquired for a handbook to this particular region, he would have asked for it in vain. Moreover, these accounts exhibit a wearisome sameness ; the later historians do little more than repeat the stories of the earlier. And so I came by degrees to contemplate a History of St. Austell—one which, by drawing its information from documentary evidence as yet unexplored, should have a little more life and vivacity and detail than any of the extant accounts, and one, too, which might serve as a guide to our ever-increasing number of tourists, and might even, thanks to the documents

¹ “No detached histories have been published of any of the Cornish towns.” Lysons, p. 5. This was in 1814. A brief *Guide to St. Austell* was published in 1872 ; a newspaper *History of St. Austell* in 1894.

just referred to, convey some information to the oldest inhabitants of the town and county, and certainly to that considerable class of readers who of late years take an interest in this remote region, this "Western Barbary," as some of them have been unkind enough to call it.

This, then, has been the *genesis* of the book, and this is its aim : it aims at killing two birds with one stone. Alike for the people of St. Austell and its vicinity as for visitors to our shores, I have compiled an unpretentious history of the Town and handbook to the Church ; for the latter more especially, but not exclusively, I have added a description of our parish and neighbourhood, whilst for the reading public who are neither inhabitants nor immigrants (who may at the same time, as I hope, find in the preliminary "Account of St. Austell" something to interest and instruct them) I have treated of our parish as a "Corner of Cornwall," and have attempted a portrait, an outline, of the Cornish people, their manners and customs. There seemed to me to be the more reason for attempting this delineation in that these local customs and idiosyncrasies cannot in the nature of things last very much longer. Even now we are gradually—I might say, rapidly—becoming assimilated to the rest of England, and with our increasing contact with the outer world and the inrush of visitors,¹ "foreigners," every summer, it is impossible that our insularity—or shall I say, individuality?—can be maintained for many more years. All local usages are fleeting ; all, I fear, are doomed to absorption, and it is as well to photograph them before they fade away and are no more seen.

So much as to the book : one word as to the writer. There was a minister of France who declared that he had not had the portfolio of his office in his hands for three days before he

¹ These visitors are said to have already modified our language very considerably.

had risen to the occasion and felt himself equal to the discharge of all its responsibilities. I have been parish minister of St. Austell—to compare small things with great—for fifteen years, but I readily confess that I have not undertaken the rôle of its historian without some misgivings. It is not that I am no architect and no archæologist; that is, no doubt, a sad defect, but it does not dismay me, for I can still give a plain, straightforward account of the Church and Town, and of the surrounding country; and I have not always found the descriptions of experts to be the most entertaining: they will persist in encumbering their pages with dry professional details, and they make such a prodigious fuss about trifles. But I do labour under one serious disability: I am not a Cornishman; I am myself a foreigner. I do not believe for a moment that this county hides within its bosom as many secrets and mysteries as Mr. Quiller Couch, for example, in his *Delectable Duchy*, would have us think; still, it has some *arcana*, and I feel that I am at a great disadvantage in not being “to the manner born.” For as it is essential in order to speak a language perfectly to have acquired it in childhood, so it is almost indispensable, in order to know a people thoroughly, and therefore to describe them accurately, to have been born and bred amongst them. I fear, consequently, that when I come to describe our local idioms, whether of speech or conduct, my acquaintance with the subject may not equal my ambition to do justice to the theme. Nor does the reflection that a stranger, an onlooker at the game, so to speak, has compensating advantages (in that he remarks details and detects differences which would hardly occur to aborigines) altogether reassure me. Still, I do not think the reader need be under any great anxiety on this score, for I have availed myself of the kind help of natives and experts—I must express

my special obligations to the Rev. Preb. Hingston-Randolph, who has looked over some of the proof sheets and has favoured me with some suggestions and corrections; the Rev. W. Iago, of Bodmin, who has given me information on several points; Mr. William Coode, Mr. H. S. Hancock, to whom also I am indebted for the Map of the Parish, Canon and Miss Beatrice Rogers, who have also gone over some of the proofs,¹ and Mr. H. Stocker, who has given me much information as to the Clay Industry—and I have spared no pains to make the book reliable. I have read every available authority on the subject. I hope that it will also be readable, for I have not disdained to cater for the reader's amusement. This is not exactly a "merrie" county—"Humour," as a writer in *The Times* remarks, "is obviously a little alien to Methodism"—but it has its humour nevertheless, and some of this I have endeavoured to embalm in these pages.

And I have one further consolation in issuing this book, that, if I have not myself contributed anything of any great value to the reader, the same cannot be said of the authorities, the citations, which enrich my pages. They are designed, of course, to illustrate and enliven our history, and they are so copious and so varied that if he learns nothing from me, he will, unless I am greatly mistaken, learn much from them. I have embodied this illustrative information, for the most part, in *footnotes*, so that the cursory reader, which most readers are in these days, need not be delayed, or compelled to enlarge his mind against his will. And if he should think that I have overweighted my book with these accessories, my candid reply is that I found, when fairly launched upon

¹ I wish also to express my obligations to Mr. W. H. Cowan, Mr. Alan Coode, Mr. Reginald Barnes, Mr. D. O. Roberts and others for their photographs, and to Mr. W. Lyon for the loan of the plate of Mr. Drew's portrait. I must also thank Mrs. B. Julyan and Mrs. W. Orchard for allowing me to copy their photographs.

my task, that the materials for an entertaining history of St. Austell were so meagre that I was bound to make the very most of what we had. It is not as if our town had figured greatly in the wars, or had been a fortress, or a prison, or a seaport—then its history would have had incident and adventure enough. But it is not so ; only by diligently collecting and expounding every scrap of information can we construct a respectable history of the place at all. It is this very lack of incident which has led to this excess, if such it is, of information.

I must remark here, however, that, slender as are the materials at my disposal for tracing the growth and life of this parish, they are ampler than those in the hands of my predecessors. It is only of late that we have discovered how history ought to be written, or have had the means of writing it. The State Papers, which have now for the most part been carefully catalogued, and which are accessible to students as they never were before, are, and must ever be, along with local documents, the main sources from which all veracious history is to be compiled. I have gone carefully through the Calendars, and have extracted every jot and tittle which I have found contributing anything to a fuller or more accurate knowledge of the town and its inhabitants. I think I may say with Izaak Walton that “I have used very great diligence to inform myself, that I might inform my reader of the truth of what follows.”

Still, I am very, very far from being satisfied with my work, conscientious and painstaking as I believe it to have been. For one thing, it has been done in scraps, in the intervals of work, amidst constant interruptions. I am well aware, too, that there is no finality about it ; I shall presently be found, I make no doubt, wishing that I could re-write portions of it,

or, at least, that I could blot out some blunders. My only consolation is that those who have had any experience of work of this kind will be the readiest to condone its imperfections. I shall venture to appropriate some words of Henry Stephens in his Apology for his translation of Herodotus, and with these I conclude—

“ Et toutesfois je ne nie pas qu’il n’y ait quelques endroits de cette histoire en la traduction desquels je n’ai pu me satisfaire. Mais je me fie en une chose—c’est que ceux qui y seront le mieux versez, et par consequent apprehenderont mieux les difficultez contre lesquelles il a fallu combattre, seront les plus aisez à contenter.”

Vicarage, St. Austell,

May 27th, 1897.

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¹ In the Library of Lambeth Palace.

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¹ Carew was born at Antony in 1555, and died there in 1620.

² Norden died in 1623.

³ Born in 1608; died in 1674.

⁴ No title page. Hals was born at Merther in 1655, and died at St. Wenn in 1737.

⁵ This exists only in MS. But the materials have been utilized by Mr. Davies Gilbert in his *Parochial History of Cornwall*. Tonkin was born at St. Agnes in 1678, and died in 1742. He was sometime M.P. for Helston.

⁶ Borlase was born at Pendeen in 1695, and died at Ludgvan in 1772.

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¹ Vol. III. contains Cornwall. This work has been playfully, but unjustly, described as "*Lies on Cornwall*." It is far and away the best account of the county.

² Mr. Gilbert was a chemist in Plymouth. He is not to be confounded with Davies Gilbert, formerly Giddy, author of *The Parochial History of Cornwall*.

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¹ This work, so far as St. Austell is concerned, teems in inaccuracies. Most of them, I am glad to know, have been redressed in a later edition.

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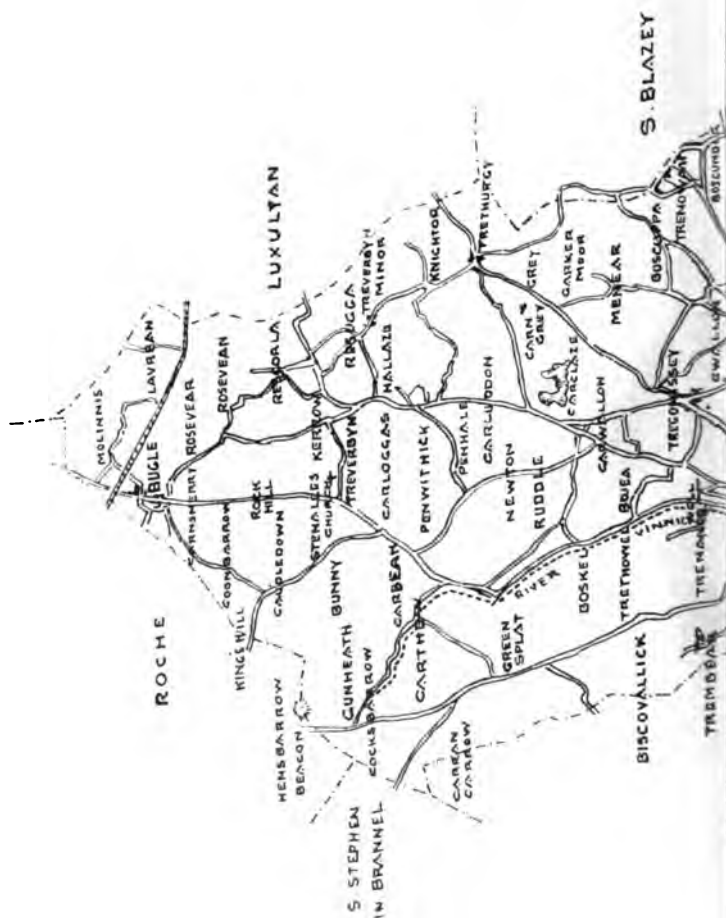
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An Account of St. Austell.

CHAPTER I.

OUR STATISTICS.

THE reader who does me the honour to take me as his guide in his visits to our Church or in his rambles through the parish must not take fright at the title of this chapter ; I shall not weary him with hard figures or dry disquisitions. I find such details distinctly fatiguing myself, and therefore I conclude that he would do the same. Indeed, it is partly because the extant histories, however painstaking and learned they may be, have struck me as somewhat sombre and tedious, that I have attempted to write an *Account of St. Austell*, which shall at least have the merit of being readable and interesting. Still, he will naturally want to know something about the place, its situation, population and the like, especially if this book should fall, as I hope it may, into the hands of some who have never heard of our admirable St. Austell before, or who are unaware of the attractions which it offers to the tourist. I hasten, therefore, to say that it lies on the South coast of Cornwall—the “ Church-town,” to use a Cornish term, is a mile and a half from the sea—and in the middle and most recessed and sheltered part of that coast ; 243 miles W.S.W. from London by Great Western Railway, 93 miles W.S.W. of Exeter, 40 miles S.W. from Launceston,

38 miles West of Plymouth, and 13 miles E.N.E. of Truro. It may perchance induce the reader to come and see us for himself if I add that we have an excellent service of trains—much improved and accelerated within the last few years—and that seven hours spent in the corridor express now transport the traveller from the fogs and smoke of London to the blue skies and waters of St. Austell Bay.

The population of the civil parish at the last census was 11,377; of the ecclesiastical parish 5,702¹—the two parishes of Treverbyn and Charlestown were carved out of the mother parish of St. Austell in 1847 and 1849 respectively. The undivided parish, the parish of history, of which I am to treat, covers about 12,125 acres; it runs along the coast from Par Harbour to Pentewan, and penetrates inland as far as to Bugle. I may add that though the population of the town proper is not more than 4,500, it is a much more important place than these slender figures would suggest, being the centre of the china clay trade,² of which I shall have something to say presently. It lends its name to a parliamentary division of the county, viz., Mid-Cornwall.

¹ The population of the entire county was 318,583, whereas in 1871 it was 362,980; in 1861 it was 369,390; even in 1841 it was 341,269. The decrease has been chiefly caused by emigration, the result of the closing of the mines. In 1801, Cornwall contained 188,269 persons; in 1811, 216,667. (St. Austell in 1801 had 3,788 parishioners; in 1811, 3,686.) Had its population increased at the same rate as the rest of England, we should now number 520,000 souls or more. It has been estimated that in the year 1377 our population was 50,401, for in that year poll tax was paid on 34,274 heads, and children under fourteen, the clergy, and beggars were exempt.

² "The Cornish men rank this town as being about the fourth or fifth best for business." *Cornwall, its Mines and Miners*, p. 25. This was written in 1855. Since then, circumstances have raised it to the front rank. Mining has decreased and the clay trade has increased, and St. Austell is now believed to be the richest and busiest town in the county. Walter White, writing his *Londoner's Walk to the Land's End* in the same year (1855), remarks (p. 185): "St. Austell was the first Cornish town in which I saw noticeable indications of life and business, accounted for by its being the capital of a very busy district and not far from the three important ports where mineral produce is shipped in large quantities."

We have a highly respectable bench of Magistrates, and I am afraid to say how many "Boards," of sorts. We have four Banks, and only wish we had more to put into them. Our possessions are protected by an efficient Police Force and a Fire Brigade, the latter with a most imposing uniform ;¹ our lives and liberties are guarded by a *corps* of gallant Volunteers. We have a refuge for our destitute in the shape of a really elegant Workhouse—it is of the Gothic order ; we have a Liberal and a Constitutional Club and a Gas Works—I class these institutions together as all engaged in the same sort of manufacture. We have an Electric Light Establishment, which supplies half the town with its illumination and half the county with its appliances. Our Post Office is a spacious, brand-new building (not, I must admit, distinguished for its chaste beauty), and we have four deliveries of letters a day—we thought we were uncommonly well served until we heard that Tokio has twice the number. But it may save time if I merely add that we are deficient, so far as I know, in no single institution of a highly-civilized and well-appointed parish. We have even three newspapers, written with astonishing fire and eloquence, but not always, I grieve to say, on the best of terms with each other ; we have a parish pound, and we had till recently the parish stocks. There are those amongst us who maintain that this last-named institution might be revived with some advantage to the community. It must not be inferred, however, from this remark that we have an intemperate or disorderly population ; on the contrary, one of the charms of St. Austell is its civil and law-abiding people. But one of the last occupants was put there for propagating a slander !

¹ A story is told—no doubt it is *ben trovato*—of one of our firemen, who was summoned by the fire-bell to a burning. He is said to have viewed it with a critical air, and to have remarked, "'Tis a proper fire, sure 'nuff : I must go home and put on my uniform !"

CHAPTER II.

THE NAME.

THE authorities, such as they are, differ considerably as to the origin of the name "St. Austell." "There are few parishes in Cornwall," says Hitchins,¹ "on the origin of whose name more doubts have been entertained and on which a greater diversity of opinion has prevailed than on that of St. Austell." Some contend that it is the name of a saint, a hermit who here lived and died in the odour of sanctity, and this is a very old belief. "Sanctus Austolus" is recognized as a person in Robert Fitzwilliam's charter of A.D. 1169. Leland says² that *Austolus erat hermita*, but I strongly suspect that this is a mere guess, not on Leland's or even Fitzwilliam's part, but on the part of those from whom they derived their information, in other words, the tradition of their time, which tradition has been thought to be embodied in the architecture of the Church. It has been observed that the middle figure of the three who occupy the lowest tier on the West Front is decidedly distinguished—not by position only, but by its size and surroundings—above the other two, albeit one of these represents a mitred prelate

¹ *The History of Cornwall*, compiled by Fortescue Hitchins, Esq., and edited by Mr. Samuel Drew, of St. Austell, 1824, p. 38. In a letter of Francis Bassett to Nicholas, dated October 23rd, 1637, at Tehidie, the name is spelt phonetically St. Tawssell. Bassett was Vice-Admiral of Cornwall, but clearly no great scholar.

² Vol. vii., p. 111. Note.



ST. AUSTELL CHURCH.
THE WEST FRONT.

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or abbot and the other a *regular* priest of some sort¹—observe the cord with which he is supposed to flagellate himself. And yet this middle figure is every way the most primitive and least pretentious; the habit is severely simple, not to say scanty; it has suggested a hermit or missionary. It has been contended that it must represent the saint to whom the Church was originally dedicated. But even if this were so—and I shall presently show cause for thinking that it is not so; that this figure, in fact, represents our risen Lord—it does not follow that the tradition which the builders of the Church accepted was founded in fact. Some accordingly have suggested that *Austell* is a corruption of *Austin*, i.e., St. Augustine, the great bishop of Hippo, perhaps the greatest name, since the days of the Apostles, in the estimation of Christendom, and they point to the effigy of the prelate referred to above in confirmation of this view.² But there are two considerations which seem to me to be fatal to this view. One is that the bishop is balanced by the priest—the one to the right, the other to the left of the central figure—which would hardly be the case if the former were the founder of the Church; no priest would be put on an equality with him; the other is that our forefathers, judging from other dedications in the county, would never go so far afield as to Carthage in search of a patron saint. They seem for the most part to have preferred a local man, a

¹ Sir Paul Molesworth, in a letter to the *Western Morning News* (October 4th, 1881), says that Lobineau, in his *Vies des Saints de Bretagne*, mentions Austol and Mewan as monks of the same monastery. Lobineau's *Histoire de Bretagne* was published at Paris in 1709.

² The *monk* Augustine who headed the Italian Mission sent by Pope Gregory in 597 is, of course, out of the question; he was no friend to the ancient British Church, and according to all accounts, it was by no means devoted to him. Nor do I know that even in the fifteenth century, when the tower was built, his name was "as ointment poured forth" in the West.

neighbour's son, or the evangelist of the district—our saints are all, in a sense, racy of the soil. Others have seen in the word a contraction of Augustulus (whatever could a “young Augustus” be doing *dans cette galère* ?), whilst Dr. Milles, according to Drew and W. C. Borlase (the former calls him “chanter of Exeter”), connected the name with *St. Auxilius*, a nephew of St. Patrick and an Irish bishop, and demanded that we should write it *St. Aussil*. And it cannot be denied that Irish bishops have not unseldom preferred this country to their native heath—or bog¹—and this particular bishop *may* no doubt have helped to evangelize this district (for there was an Irish as well as an Italian Mission),² and so have given his name to the Church, but then “maybes,” as the north-country proverb says, “are no honey-bees,” and when the existence of St. Patrick himself has been called in question, we naturally feel a certain scepticism as to his relations. Borlase tells us³ that in the list of the Brychan family there occurs the name of a female saint, *Hawstyl*, who lived at Caer Hawstyl, and it is undeniable that other Cornish Churches did take their names from holy Irish immigrants who laboured here; thus, for example, SS. Breaca, Jia and Ia (obviously ladies) have furnished designations to St. Breage, St. Ives,⁴ and St. Ive, just as SS. Elwinus and

¹ George the Third is said to have observed to one of them, “Your see, I believe, is in Ireland.” “It is, your Majesty,” replied the bishop. “I see you very often in England,” was the dry rejoinder.

² This was in the fifth century; in the sixth and seventh centuries some Welsh saints settled in Mid-Cornwall—among them SS. Petrock, Sampson, and Teilo. Padstow is the modern form of Petrockstowe; the Church of Golant is dedicated to St. Sampson. Some of our Churches are dedicated to Gallican saints—there was a close connexion between Cornwall and Brittany, as everybody knows.

³ *Age of the Saints*, p. 156.

⁴ St. Ives in Hunts. takes its name from St. Ivon, a Persian bishop. There was a St. Ivo in Brittany, an honest lawyer! He is commemorated in the lines—

Gwithianus have to St. Elwyn, Hayle, and to St. Gwithian. Amid so many conflicting opinions it is difficult to choose. Can it be, we are sometimes driven to ask, that "St. Austell" is not the name of a saint at all? We may be forgiven a suspicion as to all these *dead* saints of the county after whom our parishes are supposed to be named, St. Pinnock and St. Feock, St. Ewe and S. Tudy (profanely called St. *Judy* by some), St. Eval (it was once gravely observed by a foreigner who did not quite catch the name that "the Cornish carried things a *leetle* too far when they dedicated a Church to the devil"!)¹ and St. Keyne (famed for the rare virtues of its well, now unhappily dried up), especially when we observe how few *living* ones are left, which is precisely the remark which Chateaubriand made about the buried saints of Palestine. We often fancy that in olden times "the saints were many and the sins were few"; we often cry with Ariosto, "O the great goodness of the knights of old!" though we seldom find our contemporaries overburdened with virtues. I am half inclined, therefore—especially when I contemplate my parishioners—to give up the derivation of St. Austell from a saint, though at times, I confess, I revert to the tradition of

"Sanctus Ivo erat Brito,
Advocatus, sed non latro,
Res miranda populo!"

—Taylor, *Names and Places*, p. 341.

Which I translate as follows—

"Blessed Ivo was a Briton,
A lawyer too, but not a ruffian,
A marvel to mankind."

¹ It is also a common saying that "there are more saints in Cornwall than in heaven." M. Louis Deville, who made a tour of the county some years ago, has an amusing remark. After speaking of St. Michael's Mount, St. Ives, and St. Austell, and their *gracieuses baies*, he exclaims, "Voici une collection de noms de saints qui paraît assez singulière dans un pays protestant!" *Excursions dans le Cornouailles*, etc. Paris, 1863. What would he have thought had he had a complete list of our saints or parishes before him! This is the county of the saints.

a hermit as not improbable, and the more so when I remember that "in most of the Cornish parishes the ancient secular name has been superseded by that of the patron saint of the Church."¹ Can we suggest anything in its place? Well, it has been justly observed, with respect to our name, that "conjecture has supplied the deficiencies of history." I shall only be treading, therefore, in the footsteps of my predecessors if I venture on one conjecture more. Can "Austell" have anything to do with "hostel"—whence the modern "hotel"—shortened from *hospitalia*, from which, of course, we also derive our word "hospital"? Can the beginning of the place have been a lodging-house, a *hospitium* for the entertainment of pilgrims or others? Remember, if you please, that the monks of Tywardreath, who had everything to do with our ecclesiastical "origins," lisped in Latin, and they may have had here a sort of guest-house for pilgrims—called by them *Hostel*²—who *may* have come again—here is a fine field for conjecture—to the baptismal wells at Towan and Menacuddle. The days when our parish first appears in history under its present name were the age of pilgrimages:—

"O come ye from East or come ye from West,
Or bring relics from over the sea,
Or come from the shrine of St. James the Divine
Or St. John of Beverley?"

One other suggestion may be recorded—that of Hals—viz., that "Austell" means "remote chapel," *i.e.*, remote from the mother Church of Tywardreath, and with this the list may

¹ Lysons, p. xxxii., who proceeds to observe that most of our parishes being called after a saint, the Cornish began to imagine that *all* were so called.

² Drew observes that "Leland calls the village *St. Austelles*, quasi 'Holy Altar,' as if the place had its name from some remarkable altar there—like *Altarnun*." But I fail to see where the *quasi* comes in. Leland, like all his contemporaries, was utterly indifferent as to spelling.

close. Uncertain, however, as is the derivation of the word, one thing is clear, namely, that the original name of the place was *Trenance*, that is to say, "the hamlet or dwelling in the valley"¹—hence it is sometimes called by ancient writers *Trenasaustell*, *Trenance Austell*, or *Trenance-priour*,² and we can readily believe that the earliest inhabitants would build their huts in the neighbourhood still called "Trenance," because of the meeting of the waters there,³ and I agree with Drew that "between 1087, when Domesday Survey was completed, and 1169 this name [of St. Austell], if not this sanctuary, most probably started into existence."

¹ Whitaker, who is generally omniscient, observes, truly enough, that "the township was originally called Trenance." But when he goes on to say that "in it resided the denominating saint, St. Austell," we crave for some sort of evidence in proof.

² As by Carew, in his *Survey*, pp. 44, 47.

³ "The presence of water in a convenient form determined the locality of human settlements in those early days, for as yet the well-sinker was not." Gedge, *History of a Village Community*, p. 2.

CHAPTER III.

OUR HISTORY.

IF it be true that to have little history is to have much happiness, then our parish must always have been a pleasant place to dwell in—save when it was visited by the “black death” or the “sweating sickness,”¹ or when Royalists and Roundheads fought at St. Blazey and Tresilian Bridge, or when its roads were a sea of sludge, as sometimes happens now, for of “history” in the higher sense of the word it has next to none. I do not find in the records of the county that our peaceful Pentewan, Gover and Treverbyn Valleys have resounded to the cries of combatants or have been reddened with the blood of champions. No “Round Table” was set up in our homely vicinage: no “Roland, the flower of chivalry” perished in our “wrestling fields.” If we have had our “village Hampdens,” they have been “inglorious.”² The knights and heroes seem to have found more congenial

¹ To us this seems an obvious exception to make. But the truth is that our forefathers took these terrible visitations—or some of them did—with amazing *sang froid*, with something like gaiety. The “Swatt,” or “Sweatte,” was jocularly spoken of as the “New Acquyntance,” “Stop, Knave,” and “Know thy master.” Similarly, the plague often appears in the records of the time as the “Stop-gallant,” because it chiefly attacked young men. In 1675 it was called the “Jolly rant” at Newcastle-on-Tyne, and this when it swept away whole households! But the description of the plague at Athens, given by Thucydides, prepares us for any outbreaks of blasphemy and cruelty at such a time.

² We are said to have some of these now, but if so, they are by no means “mute.”
Tout au contraire.

quarters, if we might trust the legends of Arthur and Launcelot and Merlin and Modred, on the wild north coast—Tintagel was the seat of Arthur's Court. I do not know that St. Austell can even boast of having given birth to cruel baron or fierce brigand, nor have we proof that any of our townsmen (with one exception, for which reason he holds a prominent place in our histories) attained the distinction of hanging from a gibbet at the cross roads.¹ No, there is nothing very tragic or sanguinary in our annals. A "cool sequestered vale," a "happy valley," it would seem to have always been. Its history must therefore of necessity be short: it could only be made long by drawing largely upon the imagination. I am well aware that there is ample precedent, even on the part of historians of repute, for writing history from this point of view, but, being a divine, I somewhat hesitate to follow their example.² There is no mention, then—if we are to confine ourselves to

¹ This was a poor raw constable, Rosevear by name, who was induced by a gang of miners, some 120 years ago, under pretence of a magistrate's order, to break open a cellar at Par, where it was reported that large quantities of grain were stored. It was really a bread riot, and the tinnerns meant nothing but plunder, and used this unsuspecting simpleton as their tool. All the same, he was held by the authorities to be implicated in the crime, and had to save himself by flight, hiding in the neighbourhood of Launceston till he was well-nigh starved to death. One day, two men, relatives of his, passed along the highway, and the fugitive ventured to address them, little dreaming that they had in their hands a warrant for his apprehension. They gave him smooth words, but betrayed him to death, tempted by the blood-money offered for his seizure. After the execution the body was brought to this neighbourhood (St. Austell Downs), where it was suspended from a gibbet. I derive these particulars from Hitchins and Drew, pp. 71, 72.

² Bishop Stubbs, perhaps the greatest of our living historians, is credited with the following lines—

"Froude informs the Scottish youth
That the clergy speak no truth;
The Reverend Canon Kingsley cries
That history is a pack of lies.

Whence accusations so malign?

This simple statement solves the mystery:

Froude reckons Kingsley a divine,

And Kingsley goes to Froude for history."

facts—of any St. Austell in Domesday Book, the survey begun about 1068 (it took some years to complete it), but then that book treats of *manors* only: it takes no account of parishes. Three manors in this neighbourhood are referred to—Bewington [i.e., Tewington], which belonged to the king, and Treverbin, and Trenant, which were held by the powerful Earl of Moriton, the king's half-brother, as his vassal.¹ But even if the name of *Austell* was then unknown, and if there was no village to speak of, it is nevertheless not at all unlikely that a chapel or sanctuary then stood where our Church now stands—Domesday Book mentions no Church in Cornwall and only two in Devon. Such a building there certainly was about a hundred years later, for in A.D. 1169 we find Robert Fitzwilliam,² together with Agnes his wife and Robert his son, freeing the *sanctuarium de Sancto Austolo* from all imposts and obligations. The *Confirmatio Cartae Roberti Filii Willielmi et uxoris ejus*, as also a *Confirmatio donationis Roberti filii Willielmi*, and other similar documents, may be seen in Oliver's *Monasticon Diocesis Exoniensis*, p. 38. From the former we gather that the original deed was dated in 1169. It may be as well to give a brief extract: "Henricus Dei gratia rex Anglie, etc. . . . salutem. Inspeximus cartam Roberti filii Willielmi et Agnetis uxoris sue et Roberti, filii sui, in hec verba: Sciunt

¹ He held 253 manors as lord paramount and 25 more under the king, the prior of Bodmin, etc.—293 in all out of the 340 in the county. Hals, in his *Compleat History of Cornwall*, p. 10, says that St. Mewan, St. Blazey, and Menacusey were taxed as parts of Earl Cadoc's Manor of Tewington, but this I have been unable to verify; indeed, the record says expressly that "the king holds Bewington." The Domesday Survey was so complete that it was commonly said they omitted *nec lucum, nec lacum, nec locum*—neither wood, nor water, nor waste.

² This Robert Fitzwilliam was in 1165, the date of the *Liber Niger Scaccarii* (the Black Book of the Exchequer), one of the greatest landowners in the county, for he held 51 knights' fees, as against 59 held by Reginald de Valletort. These would seem to have passed by marriage to Robert de Cardinham, who figures in the scutage rolls of 1200 as by far the greatest landowner in Cornwall. He held 71 knights' fees (including those held by Robert Fitzwilliam), as against 51 (or 59) held by Reginald de Valletort. Lysons.

tam presentes quam futuri quod ego Robertus . . . et Agnes mihi uxor karissima . . . *franchiavimus sanctuarium de Sancto Austolo* omni servitio omnique consuetudine omnique exactione . . . et liberum et quietum concessimus sanctuarium. . . . Deo omnipotenti et beato Andree apostolo et *Sancto Austolo* pro animabus Henrici regis et regine Matilde, etc. . . . Hoc autem factum est *anno ab incarnatione Domini MCLXIX.* apud Tywardrait, in talamo Roberti filii Willielmi (he would seem to have had a cell or chamber set apart for his use in the monastery: he can hardly have retired thither), fratre Baldwyno existente priore, apud Tywardrait.”¹ Among the witnesses appears the name of Osward de Sancto Austolo. The latter deed, which probably came first in point of time, and which goes back to 1235, confirms for the King and his heirs to the Church of St. Andrew at Tywardraith “omnes donations que ei in Cornubia facte sunt *et nominatim ecclesiam de Austell* cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, quam Robertus filius Willielmi ei dedit,” etc. Considerably older than either of these is a *Carta* of the same Robert Fitzwilliam, “confirming the donations of his ancestors and adding others.” The only words that concern us at present are these: “Preterea ego . . . ex dono proprio ipsis concessi et confirmavi *ecclesiam Sancti Austoli* cum omnibus appendiciis suis et quicquid sanctuarii ad eam pertinere dinoscitur, scilicet tres acras terre liberas, solutas, et quietas ab omni servicio seculari.” Then we have in another parchment a Notification to the bishop of the “*donatio ecclesiae de Austell* per Robertum,” etc.—“Ego Robertus filius Willielmi . . . dono et concedo meis fratribus moanachis de Tiwardrait *ecclesiam de Austol* pro amore Dei et peccatorum meorum

¹ The substance of all this Latin is that Robert and his wife Agnes freed the Sanctuary of St. Austell from all dues and charges in the year 1169, in his room at Tywardreath.

remissione." A "Carta Odonis filii Walteri de Treverbin"—like most of the rest, undated—gives to the Priory "totam terram meam quam habui in *villis de Sancto Austolo et Henegdel*"—explained later on to mean St. Austell and Menacuddle. A charter of John, Archbishop of Canterbury, bearing date April 10, 1281, confirming certain Churches to the use of the Monastery, mentions among others, that of *Sancti Austoli cum capella de Landray* (i.e., St. Blazey). It will thus be seen that in 1169 the Church belonged to the Priory of Tywardreath, and that the prior of that day was one Baldwyn.¹ It is consequently clear that the Church must then have been for some time in existence, and that by the middle of the twelfth century, at the latest, it was known by its present name. Just let us think for a moment! Henry II. then occupied the throne of England. Thomas à Becket was archbishop of Canterbury; it was the year before he was slain at the altar in his Cathedral. The long struggle with the Popes had already begun, for the *Constitutions of Clarendon* date from 1164. Ireland was then being conquered by Strong-

¹As this is one of the earliest extant notices of the Priory, with which our Church was for four centuries so closely connected, it may be permitted me to mention here that it was "founded by an ancestor of the Cardinham family" (Oliver, p. 33)—according to Godwin (*English Archaeologist's Handbook*, p. 149) by Richard, dapifer to Henry II. It was a cell or dependency of the religious house of SS. Sergius and Bacchus at Angers—"que est subjecta ecclesie Sancti Sergii Andegavie," we read in the *Confirmatio* of 1235—19 Hen. III. Oliver says (p. 33) that "in the 12th Century an ancestor of the Cardinham family granted to the Convent the Church of St. Austell," but this does not appear to me to be clear from the documents he cites. In the eleventh year of Edward III. a survey of the property of the Convent was made by the Crown. It amounted to £266 : 6 : 10½, to which the following items contributed "Fructus ecclesie Sancti Austoli, xxxiiij libras. vijs viij^d. Fructus ecclesie Landraeth (St. Blazey) c^d. Redditus assise dicti prioratus . . . de villa Sancti Austoli viij^d. iiijs. i^d. obolum." The Convent was not a large one, as Bp. Brantyngham certified when Wm. de la Haye was prior (*circa* 1371), that the superior was resident with *four monks*. In 1540 Henry VIII. annexed the following possessions of this religious house, amongst others, to the Duchy of Cornwall: "Manor of St. Austell, valued at £5 : 3 : 6 *per ann.* . . . Fowey £1 : 19 : 2," etc. In 1542 the site of the Priory and the Manor of Tywardreath were granted to the Earl of Hertford.

bow, and soon afterwards, William the Lion, King of Scotland, became a vassal of the English crown. And in these days—and who can say for how long before?—the faith of our CHRIST was preached, at any rate in its outlines, and the worship of Almighty GOD was maintained on the very spot where the Church stands to-day. About a century and a half later a Chantry—a shrine where the singing priest chanted his masses for the living and the dead—adjoined the Parish Church, and indeed, as we shall see presently, formed a part of its structure. The Church was consecrated by Bishop Bronescombe on Oct. 9th, 1259,¹ and some thirty-five years later Master Philip le Cornwaleys, Archdeacon of Winchester, out of reverence for St. Michael the Archangel, gave the advowson of St. Clether, near Camelford, and an acre of land to form an endowment of the *Chantry* which he had founded “in the cemetery of St. Austell.”² On Dec. 11th, 1294, King Edward I. licensed this Philip to assign one acre of land, “in monte de Tremur,” near St. Clether Church, and the advowson and patronage of that Church to main-

¹ “Within the space of ten years” this bishop “dedicated no less than eighty-eight rebuilt or enlarged Churches, forty occurring in one single year.” (Reynolds, *Ancient Diocese of Exeter*, p. 76, who gives an account of the episcopal engagements of 1259.) He was simply indefatigable. He was at Truro on Sep. 29th, and between that day and Oct. 9th he had exercised his office at Tregony, St. Antony-in-Roseland, St. Michael Carhayes, Tregony, Mevagissey, and Bodrigan. From us he passed to Looe and St. German's Priory (Oct. 11th), where he rested two days, reaching Launceston on Oct. 25th.

² This Philip Cornwallis—which name then meant Philip the Cornishman—was evidently a native of our town; elsewhere he is called “Philip de Sancto Austolo” (e.g., in the Royal License of June 28th, 1301—see below). So that Bp. Colenso is not the only Church dignitary to whom the place has given birth. A Patent Roll of 1285 (13 Edw. I.) contains a safe conduct until Michaelmas for Philip de Sancto Austolo, clerk, *going to the court of Rome*. He was a person of some importance in his day—he was Official of the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1281 (Register of Bp. Quivil, by Preb. Hingeston-Randolph, p. 333), and in the next year we find Quivil granting him a pension of 40s. a year “de Camera sua” until he could provide him with a benefice which he would be willing to accept.

tain certain chaplains celebrating Divine Service in honour of St. Michael in a Chapel built by him in our churchyard.¹ A little before this time the first valuation of Cornish benefices was made by the bishops of Lincoln and Winchester—it was begun in 1288 and finished in 1291, during which time Nicholas de Podeforde was Vicar,² and under the headings of *Archid' Cornub.* and *Decanat' de Poudre* we find the "Ecclia de Sco. Austolo" mentioned; its *taxatio* was £10 : 13 : 4, its *decima* £1 : 1 : 4, whilst the *Vicar' ejusdem* is put down at £2. The year 1300 brings with it another notice—true, a somewhat slight and unsatisfying one—of the Chantry, for I find in a Patent Roll of 29th Edward I. that this monarch "confirmed to Hugh le Dispenser in fee the manor of Great Haseley—*Magna Hasele* it is called—in the county of Oxford, with the advowson of the Church and with its woods and forests, *pro cantaria de Sancto Austolo, pro Priore de Daventre*, etc. So that the little chapel in the cemetery derived *some* benefit—probably not very much—from the far-away wooded manor in Oxfordshire.³ On June 28th, 1301, we have another mention of the Chantry, for on that day Edward I. gave authority *Magistro Philippo de Sancto Austolo, Archidiacono Wintonie*, to convey a messuage and three ferlings of land,⁴ *cum pertinenciis*,

¹ "After his death the patronage was to pass to the convent, but unless they presented within fifteen days, the Bishop of Exeter obtained the right so to do." Oliver, p. 34.

² See Chap. xii.

This was the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Papæ Nicolai IV.*, wherein he granted all the tenths due from the clergy to the king, for six years, to defray the expenses of a crusade. The bishops charged with the survey were Oliver Sutton of Lincoln and John de Pontissara of Winchester. The latter at least had special qualifications for the task, having been Canon of Exeter, Rector of Tawstock, and Archdeacon of Exeter. Until the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, a new assessment, was made (28 Hen. VIII.), this taxing of Pope Nicholas regulated the amounts due both to King and Pope.

³ On May 12th, 1309, we find among the *Close Rolls* an order to Walter de Gloucester to deliver to John Stor and Alice his wife the lands in *Tregereck* and Radeway, in Cornwall. Can this be our Tregorrick?

⁴ Thirty acres.

in Menkudel for the maintenance of three chaplains to celebrate Divine Service in the *Capella Sancti Michaelis in villa de Sancto Austolo constructa*.¹ This Chapel of St. Michael, it should be understood, was a distinct benefice from the Parish Church, and was served by its own clergy, though, like the Church, it was in the patronage of the Tywardreath Priory. It formed a part of the Church—it is spoken of in 1349, at the institution of Sir John Payon, as *perpetua Cantaria Capelle Beati Michaelis in ala dextera ecclesie Sancti Austoli situate*—"the Chapel of Blessed Michael, situated in the right aisle of the Church of St. Austell." Again, let us try to realize how long it is since Master Philip the Archdeacon made his deed of gift. In 1301 Edward I. (Longshanks) sat on the throne. Those were the days of Balliol and Wallace and the Bruce, of the banishment of the Jews and the schism in the Papacy. "The Crusades had only just ended. The English Parliament was still in its cradle. Wales had only just been united to the English Crown. The pleadings of our Law Courts were still in French. The commerce of the world was in the hands of the cities of Italy."² And through all those years—from A.D. 1169 to 1300—both in Parish Church and also in churchyard Chapel, the Christian priest stood daily—"Divina pro anima ejusdem *singulis diebus* celebrare" is the language of the Royal License above referred to—daily ministering at the altar, and the Christian sacrifice preached its Gospel to a handful of unlettered peasants:—

¹ Patent Roll 29 Edw. I. m. 10. This donation is often referred to in the *Calendarium Genealogicum*, compiled from the *Inquis. post Mortem*. It is mentioned, e.g., under the 20th, 21st, 22nd, and 29th years of Edw. I.

² Zincke, *Wherstead*, p. 30. It may help us to realize how long ago this was, if we remember that the inventions of those days were windmills and spectacles, paper and looking-glasses. Collier, *British Empire*, p. 89.

"Through the Church's long eclipse,
 When from priest and pastor's lips
 Truth Divine was never heard :
 'Mid the famine of the Word,
 Still these symbols witness gave
 To His power Who came to save."

But let us return to our scanty pasture—I mean to the infrequent notices of our parish found here and there in the page of history. In 1223 Walter de Treverbyn¹—probably the Walter mentioned above (page 14)—was Sheriff of the county, whilst William de Austell discharged the same function in the 29th, 30th, and 31st years of Edward III., and his grandson John was Sheriff in 1446.² Between these dates there is not much to record ; there are, however, some references (they are little more) to the town or the manor of Tewington in the early Stannary and other Rolls, and I feel sure it will interest our inhabitants at least if I put some of these down. "The earliest Stannary Roll is met with in the accounts of Thomas de la Hide" (1300-1), Steward and Sheriff of Cornwall, who had Thomas de Ocham as his receiver, when "the total amount received for the coinage of tin in the county was £1120 : 13 : 5."³ The "rents of assize" of this manor appear in his accounts as £6 : 5 : 11. The *Inquisitio post Mortem* of Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, of the same year (29 Edw. I.), mentions the pasture in Wellan (Gwallon?) as worth by the year 22s. 11d., and the toll of tin as worth 6s. It adds, "There are certain wastes in

¹ In one of the Patent Rolls of the date of 1286 (14 Edw. I.), among those going beyond the seas *with the king*, to whom a protection is granted, we find a Walter de Treverbyn—"until All Saints'" day. From this Walter—according to Hals—descended Sir Hugh Treverbyn, Knt., of the time of Henry VI., one of whose daughters married Trevannion of Carhayes.

² Hals.

³ Sir John Maclean, *Journal of R. Instit. of Cornwall*, xii., 238.

Wellan which are worth by the year 61s." In the *Caption of Seizin* in the Remembrancer's office of the Court of Exchequer (A.D. 1337), under "Tewington" and "Fines of Tin," we read, "The land of Nicholas de Mendelir, in the *Town of St. Austell*, renders by the year for a fine of tin, 3½d." Robert de Toker's land paid 2d.; John de Tregorreck's, 1d.; Philip Pery's, 2d.; the land of the prior of Tywardreath, 1½d.; and that of Wm. Walker, 1½d. Among the "Fines, Perquisites, etc.," the receiver accounts for 12s. 6d. which he had of Hugh Fitzwalter of Treverbryn—Walter of Treverbryn has just been mentioned as Sheriff in 1223 (page 18)—"for relief of land which was of his father": also for 8s. 11d. "of Marina of St. Austel's and eleven fellows for trespass," etc. An examination of the "Extent of the Manor of Tewington" was "made at Austell" in the first year of Edward III.'s reign (1327); its results, so far as they concern us, I have noticed elsewhere. The "Ministers' Accounts" of the same manor begin in 15 and 16 Edward III. (1341-2).¹ Among them is the sum of 17½d., "tithe paid to the Church for berbiage"—i.e., for the pasturage of sheep. This payment was made "by ancient custom," and at Easter. The reeve of the manor and beadle received between them for their services 5s. In the Accounts rendered five years later (20 and 21 Edw. III.) the reeve accounts for 4s. "for one sea hog taken in the port of Tewyn": and again two years later, 2d. is paid "for chevage

¹ In the same year (1341) there is a reference to the parish in the *Inquisitio Nonarum*, 15 Edw. III., p. 342. *Nonae* were contributions of the *ninth* sheaf, lamb and fleece granted to the king by Parliament for the purposes of the war with France and Scotland. Grants of *tenths* were common enough, but this would seem to be the only occasion on which *ninths* were levied. It may be as well to give the text. "De nona garb^r. [garbarum] vell et agn poch ecclesie S^ci. Austoli cum Capell de Landreith tax [ate] ad xij^l. xij^s. iij^d. [L12 : 13 : 4] et sic vend' Johi Tregoreck, Johi Bottomelek et Plo. Lybon. De XV. vero nichil." This is interesting, as it shows that the sheaves, lambs, etc., were sold on the spot. The *fifteenth*s were only enacted from towns (*de Burgis et Villis*), and as St. Austell paid none, it was plainly not then accounted as such.

of natives"—a capitation tribute exacted from the *nativi* of the manor¹—"at the feast of St. Michael, and no more, for *the rest are dead of the pestilence.*" "The rest dead of the pestilence"—what a world of sorrow and suffering do those few words cover! Rachel weeping for her children, children orphaned, peasants buried by the score, "men's hearts failing them for fear." About this time, on June 16th, 1336, two of our townsmen (as I judge from their names, John and Alexander *Austol*) were, with others, indicted for carrying away the ship *Le Coq Johan* at Lostwithiel by night. At this time too the De Kendalls were receivers of the Lord Duke of Cornwall. There are other and similar references to the town or places within the parish, in the Ministers' Accounts of 37 and 38 Hen. VI., 17 and 18 Edw. IV., 39 and 40 Eliz., and elsewhere, but they are of no particular interest.

Returning to the Church, the Chapel at Landraed, or Landreth, now known as St. Blazey Church, and which till quite recent days—in fact, until the appointment of my predecessor, the Rev. Fortescue Todd—was held continuously along with St. Austell, would appear to have been consecrated by Bishop Stapeldon in 1309. One of our townsmen, a Reginald de St. Austell, was Rector of St. Just in 1335²; I should have mentioned that Robert of St. Austell was instituted to St. Anthony in Meneage in 1266, on the nomination of the Prior of Tywardreath. In 1374 Bishop Brantyngham, in his return to the writ of King Edward III. (March 6th, A. R. 48), tells us that "Frater Willelmus de la Haye optinet *ecclesiam Sancti Austoli, valoris per annum £50 : 3 : 5,*" and adds, "Idem optinet

In the reign of Henry IV. the manor was granted to the Countess of Huntingdon, and it did not revert to the Crown until 38 Hen. VI.

² This we learn from the Glasney Cartulary, now in the possession of Jon. Rashleigh, Esq.

capellam de Landreth, valoris per annum £10 : 2 : 3."¹ In the fifteenth century our history is almost a blank, save for the records of the institutions of vicars and Chantry priests and a bare reference to the place in the pages of William of Worcester—he says "Owstalle" is six miles from Graunpond and eight from Lastydiell; elsewhere he says the Tywardreth river begins in the parish of "Seynt Austell."² The Kalendar of the *Inquisitiones post Mortem* tells us that Edward Cortenay, nuper Comes Devoñ, was possessed of divers messuages and lands, together with "tolnet stanni ibidem," at Seint Austoll in 1402, and that in the 13th year of Edward IV. (1473) the manor, together with Lanestock, Penfenton, Tresilion, etc., etc., was owned by Philip Copleston and Renfred Arundel. In 1492 "Seint Austell Maner" was held by Randolph Copleston, armiger. In 1504—this is not much to record, but every scrap of information is worth recording—Richard Marston, or Martin, the then Prior of Tywardreth, made a seven-light window in the Priory Hall, constructing it of that Pentewan or Polruddan stone of which we shall hear again presently. He did not, however, long enjoy it, for on May 1st, 1506, he signified to the bishop that his retirement had been arranged

¹ Oliver, *Monasticon*, p. 423.

² The *Itinerarium sive Liber Rerum Memorabilium Willelmi Bottoner, dict. de Worcestre* (Edit. Nasmith, 1778), the date of which is about 1490, mentions many castles—among them Castle Carloogus, near to St. Columb, and the Castle of the Archdecknes, near to Ruanlanihorne. He speaks also of the *Turris* at Fowey and another at Pollrewen. He gives little more than castles and distances—for example, "A Fowey usque ad Trewardreth, 2 miliaria; . . . A Lastidielle usque Bodman, 3 miliaria; a Bodman usque Padisco super mare boriale 8 miliaria." He mentions Tregenburgh and Trewrewborough. He tells us in one place, however, that "Ricardus Rex Alemaniz"—Richard, "King of the Romans," as he is often called, who had a stronghold at Restormel, and apparently many natural children in the neighbourhood—"obiit 3 April, 1329," and then adds presently that "*Margeria de Treverbin* obiit 9 June, 1346." She was, I suspect, one of his daughters, and became wife of John Paulet, to whom and to Margaret his wife Richard II., in the fifteenth year of his reign, granted a moiety of the manor of Treverbyn.

for, and that he was to receive a yearly pension of £40, secured upon the garb¹ of the parish of St. Austell and the casualty of toll tin. But he had reckoned without his host, for the bishop accepted his resignation (on Dec. 20th), but reduced his pension to £20 *per annum*—evidently the prelate had reasons for not taking the prior at his own valuation. In 1507, on Nov. 25th, Martin was succeeded by Thomas Collyns, who (on June 1st, 1532) leased the tithes of St. Austell to Sir John Chamond, Knt.,² and his son Thomas, for a term of fourteen years at £27 *per ann.* In the preceding half century—we cannot give the exact date—the Church had assumed its present form, for the nave, the aisles, and the stately tower were no doubt erected in the reign of Henry VII.; it has often been observed that a great revival of Church building preceded the Reformation. The long and wasting wars of the Roses were then over—it was in 1483 that the young princes were smothered in the Tower, and in 1485 that Richard Crookback died on Bosworth field and Henry Tudor succeeded to the throne. For the first time now for many years the nation enjoyed the blessings of peace—we might almost say that “the land had rest for forty years”—and some of those years the people devoted to building and restoring their sanctuaries; it was then that many of our Cornish Churches or their towers were rebuilt.

The next mention of our town, or rather of our *Church*—almost all the notices of these early days are in connexion with the Church—is to be found in the returns of the inquisition instituted by Cardinal Wolsey, as legate *de latere*, into the state and revenues of the monasteries. This inquiry

¹ The “garb” is the sheaf of wheat, and indeed of other crops, including wood. So that the pension was made a charge on the tithes.

² This name appears several times in the *Counte boke* of Stratton.

began in 1521. In 1538 Robert Tregunwell, the then vicar, made the return known as the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, according to which all tenths and first-fruits were made payable to the king. It is heard of again in the same year, for, on the dissolution of the religious houses, Henry VIII. annexed the manor of St. Austell (St. Austell Prior), then belonging to the convent at Tywardreath, and valued at £5 : 3 : 6, to the Duchy of Cornwall.¹ A Patent of the date of 1527 (19 Hen. VIII.) shows that the advowson and vicarage of Austell and Blazey was then bestowed on Charles, Duke of Suffolk. The "free Chapel at Benekudell" (or Manecudell), "of the Kynge's gyfte," and "founded by the auncestors of Peryse"—"to fynde a pryste to celebrate certayne masses in the paryshe Church of Benekudell, and he to be deacon unto the vicar there at festyvall tymes in the celebration of masse"²—was not molested until the days of Edward VI., that is to say, its incumbent continued to receive his modest stipend of £5 *per ann.*; perhaps the smallness of the emolument preserved it from the rapacious hands of Henry VIII. Thomas Allway, its last incumbent, is mentioned in the Roll of fees paid to members of suppressed Chantries, 2 and 3 Philip and Mary (1555). He received £5. The lands belonging to the Chapel—71 acres—are still tithe free; they were granted by Edward VI. to Sir Thomas Pomeroy and Hugh Pomeroy.

We have now reached the period, that of the Tudor princes, when English History, properly so called, is usually said to begin; it is supposed to begin here because of the invention of printing, but what sources of history can be as reliable as

¹ The total revenues of the Priory at the dissolution amounted to £123 : 9s. Jones, *Complete History of all the Religious Houses in Devon and Cornwall*. As far back as the time of Henry IV. the Commons had petitioned that all the property of the monasteries should be confiscated.

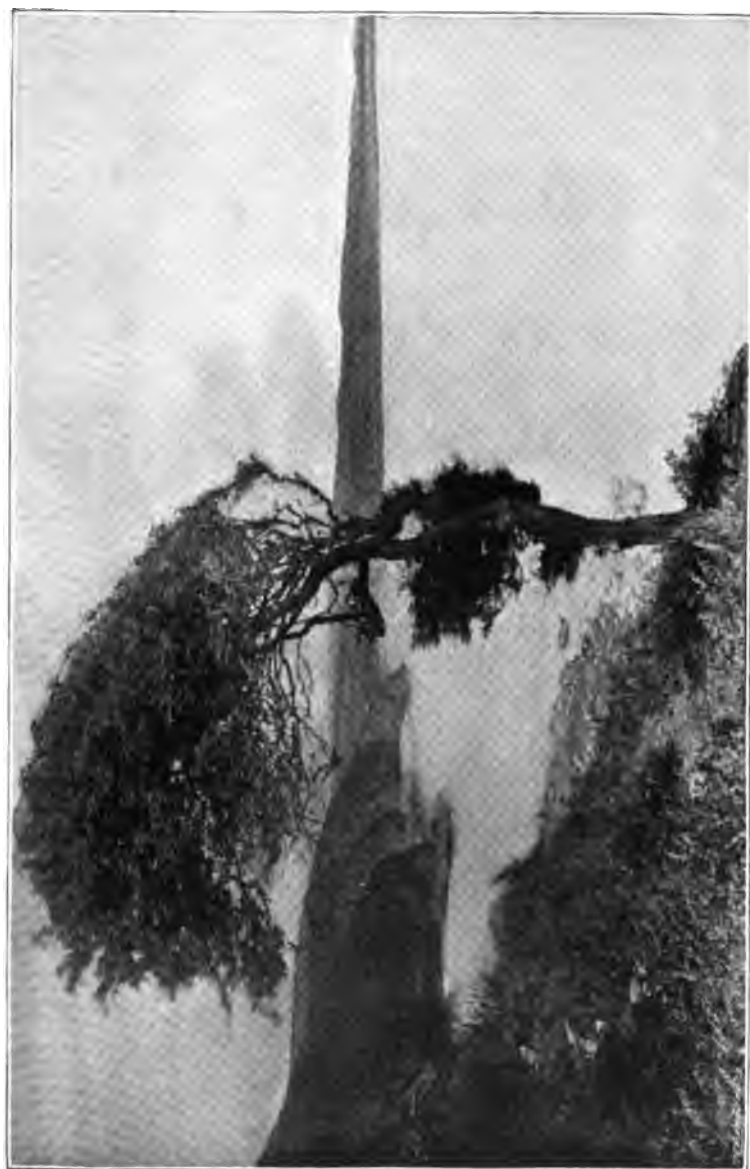
² Oliver, p. 485.

the antient records and State papers? and printing does not affect these. Still, the notices of our town, save in the faithful diocesan registers, are few and far between—I daresay there was little enough to notice. John Leland, the travelled antiquary, who died in 1552, describes the place as a “poore village with a Paroche Church,” and as being “VI. Myles East fro. Tregoney.”¹ This author, whose work was “begunne about 1538,” approached St. Austelles, or St. Austols—he was quite impartial in his spelling—from Mevagissey. He says, Vol. III., p. 20—“From Chapel Land [now “Chapel Point”] to Pentowen, a sandy bay whither to fischar Bootes repair for socour, a 2 Myles.” Of Pentewan he writes—“Here issuith out a praty Ryver that cummith from St. Austelles, about a 2 Miles *dim* of.”² And there is a Bridge of Stone of the name of the Town.” “This Ryver,” he adds, “renneth under the West side of the Hille that t[he Church] of St. Austelles stondith on” (p. 20). He gives the distance “from Pentowen to the Blake Hedd” as a mile. He mentions the Polrudden Quarry: “There is a fair Quarre of Whit Fre Stone on the shore, betwixt Pentowen and Blak Hed. Pendinas Castle is of the same stone, except the [Wallinge] . . . In the Cliffes between the Blak Hed and Tywartraith Bay is a certayn Cave, wheryn apperith Thinges lyke Images gilted. And also in the same Cliffes be vaynes of Metalles, as Coper and other . . . From Dudman Foreland to Trewardreth the Contre is sumwhat baren of Gresse and Corne and replenished with Tynne werkes, with Vaynes yn the se Clyves [sea cliffs] of Coper.”³ (Vol. vii., p. 112.) This lengthy description on

¹ *The Itinerary of John Leland, that famous Antiquary*, 2nd Edit., Oxford, 1745, Vol. vii., p. 122, Appendix.

² *I.e.*, two and a half miles away; it is really four.

³ The name *Silver Mine Beach* attests the existence of a mine, and one in which some silver was found, on our coast—indeed, the adits may still be seen and explored.



ST. AUSTELL BAY.
FROM THE BLACK HEAD.
From a Photograph by W. Orchard.

SECRET
GROUP

11-11-11

Leland's part, evidently the result of personal observation, makes us suspect that Camden had never been near the place, for in his *Britannia*, published in 1586, he does not waste on us a single word. John Norden, surveyor of the king's lands about the year 1584 (he died in 1625), marks a Church in his map, but no houses. He speaks of the place with scant courtesy as "Austell," but allows that it is called "St. Awstle" in the records.¹ And though there are no houses about the Church in Norden's map, houses there must have been, and some no doubt apart from the "poor village," for our Parish Registers, which go back to 1564, are evidence of some population, and moreover "the town of St. Austel" is mentioned in the Charter of 11 Edward III., now in the Tower of London, and the petition of 1638 (see page 30, note 3) speaks of it as "very populous." It is to be remembered too that people did not gravitate to the towns in those days, but

¹ The title of Norden's work is *Speculi Britanniae Pars; A topographicall and historicall description of Cornwall by the perambulation, view and deliniacion of John Norden*. It is dedicated to "the Most High and Mightie Prince JEAMES," but Lysons says that it was not printed till 1728. Carew, it is clear, did not know that Norden was responsible for anything beyond a map. Norden's sketch of the county is derived from Carew. Some of the names appear in a different dress, as Listhyell, Lanlyuery, Grampont, Menegisie, Tregnye, Mowun, St. Blais, St. Steuans. He describes the Hundred of Powder as "a plentifull Shyre for all commodities, full of villages," etc. Of our town he writes: "Austil, called in records St. Awstle, situate not farr from the head of the Trewardreth baye, near vnto Gwallon Downes" (p. 53). If his map represents, as no doubt it does in the main, the comparative size of our towns and villages at that period, it is instructive. "Foy," for example, has *nine* dwellings or houses pictured on the map, while St. Austell has none; Polkereys has *six*; Pentuan, *four*; Trinity [Trenarren?], *four*; Doldrudden, *one*; and "Lestithiel," *seven*. Why St. Austell should have a Church, and a large Church—for it had attained its present dimensions before Norden's time—if it had no habitations about it, it is impossible to conceive. I therefore incline to think that the map is in error. (I may mention, *per contra*, that in Borlase's Map of Cornwall, prefixed to his edition of 1769, no Church is shown.) At Polrudden he found "the Ruynes of an auntient howse somtymes the howse of John Pulrudden whoe was taken out of his bed by the Frenche in the time of Henry the 7 and caried away with violence." Of the Polrudden quarry, he says that it contains "the beste free stone that Cornwall yealdeth."

lived and died on their manors and farms, or in their wretched cottages—wretched principally through their insanitary arrangements: almost every dwelling-house at that period had its dunghill conveniently near to the door. We do well to remember that our poorest people are better housed, better clothed and fed, and have more real luxuries than kings and queens had then. We have only to remember too how the plague or the smallpox ravaged whole villages and swept away entire families to understand what a collection of hovels, evil-smelling and generally unattractive, our hardy ancestors inhabited. But this is a digression.¹ Richard Carew, whose *Survey of Cornwall* was published in 1602, the year before the death of good Queen Bess, only refers to the place under the name of *Trenas-austell* or *Trenance-priour*.² We next observe that James the First, on March 24th, 1612, granted the rectory (*i.e.*, the great tithes) to Francis Morice and Francis Phelips—Phelips was auditor of the Exchequer and Morice was clerk of the Ordnance—along with St. Columb, Madron, and Penzance.³ In 1630 Sir John Dodridge, Knt., a Justice of the King's Bench, represents the "Manner of Tewington"⁴ as of the

¹ So, I fear, it would be to mention that in 1578 the harvest in the county was so plentiful that the Justices petitioned to be allowed to export corn. In 1580 Thos. Stone, of St. Minver, was summoned before the Privy Council for exporting without permission. In 1579 the beacon fires along the coast were kept in readiness to be lighted at any moment.

² This has led Tonkin, C. S. Gilbert, etc., to the rash conclusion that St. Austell is a new town since Carew. It was a "town" in Edward III.'s time at the latest. And though "town" "originally meant only a single croft, homestead or farm, and the word retained this restricted meaning in the time of Wicliffe" (Taylor, *Words and Places*, p. 79), it is used of St. Austell in a much wider sense, as the context shows. But it was not a taxable "town." It was probably a straggling village.

³ In the same year, the *Capella* called "St. Merye's Chapple" (in which "many superstitions had been practised"), together with a private cemetery and a house called the "Store House," annexed to the Chapel, in the *parish of St. Blasey*, is mentioned, as is also a "tenement called Trevanyon (given for the maintenance of prayers), with a messuage and three closes of land," at St. Austell.

⁴ In his *History of the Ancient and Moderne Estate of the Principality of Wales*, etc.

value of £38 : 12 : 7, and the "Manner of Austell" as of the "yeerly rent of £5 : 3 : 6"—the "yeerly farme of the Manner of Fowye" was only 39s. 2d.—and mentions them as among the manors annexed to the Duchy by Henry VIII., in lieu of the Honour of Wallingford.¹ The State Papers of this period point to continuous famines and alarms. 1587 was a year of great dearth; wheat was 10s. 6d. and "rie" 9s. 6d. a bushel. And on May 9th, 1608, the Justices of Cornwall assembled at St. Austell to address a request to the Mayor of Southampton "for corn for the Western parts, which are in great distress"²; whilst on May 16th, 1626, John Osgood, Mayor of Plymouth, writes to the constables of St. Austell—the letter was to be passed on to the constables of Foye—informing them that "there are eighty great ships between the Lizard and Looe, verily thought to be Spaniards." Fancy the reign of terror in our little town! But still graver troubles were in store for them. In 1644, a short time before the Parliamentarians capitulated near St. Blazey, the town, or what there was of it, was taken by the Royalist forces.³ We

¹ Dodridge gives "the *summa totalis* for the profit of the Tynne in Cornwall the last yeere" as £2,623 : 9 : 8. In 1595 the profit of the coinage of Tin in Cornwall only for the year ending Michaelmas, 1594, was £2,465 : 8 : 7, whilst the full value of the output in the two counties was reckoned (by the Earl of Oxford to Lord Burleigh) at £40,000 *per annum*. State Papers, 1595, p. 20.

² One Wm. Foxall undertook to deliver 100 quarters of barley at Mevagissey for the use of the poor.

³ Clarendon, in his *History of the Rebellion*, Book viii., p. 111, under date of August 26th, 1644, tells us that "Lord Essex was then at Listhithiel, and had the good town of Foy and the sea to friend. Sir Richard Greenevil was at Bodmin, and possessed himself of Lanbetherick, a strong house of the Lord Roberts. . . . In this posture both armies lay still for 8 or 10 days." Then "Goring was sent with the greatest part of the horse and 1,500 foot a little Westward to St. Blase to drive the enemy yet closer together and to cut off the provisions which they received from thence; which was so well executed that they did not only *possess themselves of St. Austell* . . . but likewise were masters of the Parr." (With General Goring Sir T. Basset was associated. Lysons, p. xx.)

have in our Church, as in so many others of this county, a Proclamation of King Charles, painted on wood, complimenting the Cornish on their loyalty and devotion—I believe the last stand “for King Charles upon the throne” was made at Tresilian Bridge, some ten miles away, where Lord Hopton surrendered to Fairfax. The Proclamation bears date Sep. 10th, 1643, and was “given at our camp at Sudley Castle.” The Proclamation, however, as everybody knows, was in vain. The chances of war went against the king, and when next we read of St. Austell in the public records it is under the rule of the Commonwealth, and the Royalists are smarting for their loyalty. On Nov. 17th, 1646, the Committee for Compounding fined Lord Mohun (who was in arms against the Parliament in 1642-3) £2,090 : 17 : 6, or £1,500 if Parliament allowed of the entail, “and if he *settle the tithes of St. Austell*,” value £80 a year, then the fine is reduced to £700. On Jan. 11th, 1649, the case touching the Rectory of St. Austell was referred to the Sub-Committee. On Dec. 4th, 1650, the Committee had before them the case of Robert Sawle of St. Austell, who “adhered at first to the king, but repented of his error.” The County Committee had threatened to sequester him unless he would compound with them for £45, which he did. He begged now to compound with this Committee and allowance of the £45 from his fine. On the following March 6th he was fined £56 : 10, so that his appeal to the higher powers did him no good. Information was laid before the Committee for Advance of Money on Aug. 1st, 1649, that John Corlyan, Austell, was a serjeant in the King’s Army for a long time ; also against William La, junr., Austel, who was accused of shooting at one of the Parliamentary soldiers, of the Plymouth regiment of horse, whom he found at his house refreshing themselves. La demanded who they

were for, and on their answering "for the Parliament," he shot at one and wounded him in the shoulder.¹ On Nov. 6th, 1651, William Laa, or Lee, of St. Austell, begged to compound, to avoid further trouble for adhering to the king; alleges that he has done nothing since 1648 and was never sequestered. All the same, on Dec. 2nd, he was fined £169 : 8 : 2, which he paid on Jan. 29th following. We have also in the archives in the Exchequer the returns to the Parliamentary Survey, which were handed in on May 10th, 1650. From these we learn, among other things, that Charles Trevannion, Knt.,² held lands in Trewerrin [Treverbryn], Wm. Carlyon in Mene-ginnis [Menagwins], and Grechial Arundell and Oliver Sawle in Austell: also that "all the parish of St. Austell holds the assize of bread and ale"—that is to say, the prices of these commodities were *assessed* by the parishioners—"within the said parish, with stallage for all the tenants there, paying an annual sum therefor of 3s. 4d." Among the conventional tenants we find Samuel *Hext* at Treyaran and Mark *Higman* at Treviscecke. The Freestone quarry was held by Walter Higman, whilst Oliver Sawle held Hellingstone quarry. The latter also purchased the King's Wood, "that was of Charles Stuart"—of this I have spoken elsewhere. Three years later we have a Memorial addressed to the Duchy by the same conventional tenants. It is *signed* by Oliver Sawell, Richard Scobbell, John Moyle, Henry Carlian and John Opy, whilst John Bennett, Walter Higman, John Davie, William Band [Bond?], Wm. Grehard [Gichard?], Luke Peerse, Thomas Jesse, Tristram Carlyan and Richard Julyan made their respective marks. The next record that I have come across

¹ This is no doubt the source of Hals' story given below, Chap. xviii.

² Among the Treasury Papers is a report of Sir E. Ward, Attorney General, on a petition (in 1693) of Chas. Trevannion respecting encroachments on the manors of Treverbryn Courtenay and St. Austell Prior.

concerns the Church. On Nov. 15th, 1655, we find the "Trustees for the maintenance of Ministers" ordering "that Major John Hale, Rec^d. take special care to secure the p'fitts of ye Imp'riate Rectory of St. Austell in ye County of Cornwall, settled by Walwick, Lord Mohun,¹ upon his composicion, of the yearely value of fowerscore pounds." He was also required to "take an acc^t. of all the arrears thereof since ye 9th of August, 1648, . . . and w^t is become of ye same, how disposed of, by w^t authority." We also learn from the Commonwealth Registers, known as *The Augmentation of Livings*—some 66 volumes—now in the library of Lambeth Palace,² that the intruded minister at this time was one William Upcott. In 1661, which is described as "the 13th year of Charles II.'s reign"—the Commonwealth period did not count—we find Oliver Sawle at a Court held at the Manor House, St. Austell, surrendering Towan, whereupon Joseph Sawle took up the lands. Oliver Sawle served as High Sheriff in 1663: he did much, apparently, to build up the family; his O. S. appears on many old stones and landmarks. He was buried March 18th, 1669-70. His son, Joseph Sawle, as we shall find, appears prominently in our old Parish records, for in the year 1661 the Market tolls were granted to Oliver Sawle and Henry Carlyon, Gent.³—both families are still represented amongst us—in trust for the poor, and we

¹ This title became extinct in 1712, when the last lord fell in a duel with the Duke of Hamilton. But some members of the family, under the name of Moon, lived in no little poverty in St. Austell at a comparatively recent date.

² These were handed over by order of the House of Commons in 1662 to Archbishop Juxon, to be kept at Lambeth.

³ Their names are given in the *Calendar of State Papers* as Oliver Sawby and Henry Carlton. They had apparently petitioned for a Market in the time of Charles I.—about 1638: there is no doubt as to their names, but the petition is undated. It states that "the town has a great trade in corn, fish, and tin, *being very populous*, and has a fair market house and other necessities commodious for keeping markets and fairs. There

have amongst our archives an Account Book "of the Marketts and Faires," beginning with the year 1670, from which I give some extracts below (in Chapter VI.) In 1665—as we gather from a report of the Deanery of Powder (July 17th)—there was "never a free school within this Deanery."

In 1676 a Religious Census of the diocese was taken by command of the Archbishop of Canterbury. There were at that date but 67 Romanists in Cornwall; there were 842 Nonconformists, and the rest, 65,811, were Church people. In our own town there were 21 Nonconformists, or rather Dissenters, chiefly Quakers—"Nonconformist" then meant a Churchman who did not conform to certain Church usages—and not a single Romanist, whilst the "Conformists" numbered exactly 1,000. It does not follow that our population was then 1,021 as the return takes no account of children. Then we hear little of St. Austell until 1760, some ninety years later, when the road from Plymouth to Truro, and indeed to the Land's End, was brought through the town—the old road, perhaps the *Ikenield Street*, passes over Gossmoor, some seven or eight miles to the north. This new highway—Lysons calls it "the Great Road from London to the Land's End *by way of Plymouth Dock*"¹—would add materially to the life, if not to the wealth, of the town, and we may fancy how the inhabitants would at first stand in their doorways—there were hardly enough of them

being no market within six miles, they pray the king to grant them liberty to keep a weekly market on Fridays, with two fairs yearly." Probably the petition was overlooked, owing to the troublous times. Stockdale (*Excursions*, p. 48) says the "Charter was first bestowed by Oliver Cromwell, as a grateful reward for the heroic exertions of one May, who had a seat near the town, and for his particular gallantry in a battle fought near Boconnoc." Apparently, he is citing Hitchins, whose words are, "The Charter *is said* to have been conferred by Cromwell."

¹ P. xciii. Elsewhere (p. xliii.) he writes: "Since Carew's time . . . St. Austell, from its vicinity to the Great Mine of Polgooth, and from its having become a great thoroughfare on the road from Plymouth to the Land's End, has grown from a mere village to be a considerable town."

to line the street—to watch the vans or coaches pass. It is said (and it is a striking illustration of the statement that “until the power of steam was known the means of transit had not sensibly improved since pre-historic times”¹) that Russell’s waggon—a portentous machine it was—took nearly a fortnight between here and London. It was so capacious that it gave rise to a proverbial phrase, “As big as Russell’s waggon.” The passengers brought their own bedding with them. We must not forget, however, in picturing the scene, that our streets were then in an appalling condition; even now, I must in candour admit, they leave much to be desired, for St. Austell, however clean overhead, is frightfully dirty under foot. In our great cities there was, in that day, little idea of cleanliness; what then could you expect in tiny country towns? The kennels were often choked with garbage. The footpaths, where such luxuries existed, were so rough and uneven that every shower produced a crop of pools, which greatly exercised the ingenuity of the wayfarer to dodge them. Of our St. Austell streets it was said as late as 1817² that “not being paved they are *unsafe for foot passengers!*” Even Drew allowed in 1824 that they were “crooked and narrow” and innocent of “flat pavement.” And the roads—they were of the type described in the lines,

“If you’d seen these roads before they were made,

You would lift up your hands and bless General Wade”³—

were sometimes infested by robbers. I imagine the travellers over the Plymouth road in 1762 could tell their stories of

¹ Clodd, *Story of Primitive Man*, p. 172. ² *Gazetteer of Cornwall*: Truro. Heard.

³ Perhaps this is why Sir W. Raleigh wrote in 1596 to Lord Cobham, “I am preparing for my miserable journey into Cornwall.” But our roads have been a reproach till quite recently. In 1841 an old man named Orris told Mr. Zincke that when he was a young man he “had been employed by the parish to plough in the ruts on the Ipswich and Manningtree road, for at that time there were no stone roads.” The plough was provided

"hairbreadth 'scapes," of "moving accidents by flood and field," though highwaymen naturally infested the neighbourhood of London, rather than this unremunerative county, then, as now, among the poorest of the English shires. A journey to London was then a formidable undertaking in many ways. Whether our forefathers made their wills before they set out, as the Russians are said to do before they take the railway journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow, I could not undertake to say, but an old parishioner, now deceased, has told me that he has often seen in his boyhood one or another of the tradesmen passing from house to house in the Fore Street, solemnly shaking hands with his friends and ruefully saying a fond adieu. "Wheer be 'ee gaun' to?" "I be gaun' to Lunnon, sho 'nuff." "To Lunnon? Well, I wish 'ee well," etc., etc.¹ How Wesley, who often visited our town, must have rejoiced over the new road! In 1834 the Vestry resolved to adopt the provisions of the Act for public lighting—I may mention here that Redruth was one of the first towns in

by the parish. "The loads of broom purchased by the parish for mending the road" are entered in the overseers' books. *Wherstead*, pp. 68-9, cf. *Wenhaston*, p. 19. The *Diary of Celia Fiennes*, recently printed, has much to say about our atrocious lanes and highways—this was about 1695; e.g., "In the Road there are many holes and sloughs where Ever there is Clay Ground, and when by raines they are filled with water, it is difficult to shun danger." P. 217.

¹ The story is told—and it has the merit of being a true one—of how one John Tregoning, who went up to London in 1813 as a witness in the celebrated law suit of *Rashleigh v. Dingle*, when the coach reached Holmbush, a mile and a half away, entreated the driver to pull up, as he espied a friend, a miner coming along the road, to whom he wanted to give a message. The message was to Tregoning's wife; it was to let Dolly know that he "had arrived safely so far!" Many stories are still connected with Jan Tregoning's name. It is told, for example, how on the return journey he brought back with him as a present for Dolly a keg of the prime and potent Exeter ale. But, sad to say, Dolly never drank it. Somebody got at it, drained it of its contents, and substituted some very small beer in its place. And a proverb still circulates amongst us, "He've got a short memory, like Jan Tregoning's pig." The o'd man used to tell how he had boiled some potatoes for the "peg" and served them up hot. The pig dropped one which he found too warm for him with great alacrity, but the next moment returned to the same potato again.

England to adopt lighting by Gas, and St. Austell one of the first to use the Electric Light.

But we now come to an event of much greater importance—indeed I question whether it does not rank first in our history—I mean the development of the great mine of Polgooth, which is commonly and justly said to have been the making of St. Austell.¹ Of the mine itself I shall have something to say later on; here it must suffice to remark that the “Happy Union” Mine—the three parishes of St. Austell, St. Ewe, and St. Mewan *unite* at Polgooth; so did formerly two rich lodes of tin; I expect this latter union gave the mine its name—was first opened in 1780, and as for some years it yielded to the proprietors some £18,000 *per annum*, it is needless to say what a source of prosperity it has been to this the adjoining town. Lipscomb² tells us (p. 252) that “the profits are immense, the labour of getting out the ore being so inconsiderable. More business,” he adds, “is now transacted at St. Austell than at either of the other [Stannary] towns.” It was not working, however, in 1808, when Warner wrote his *Tour through Cornwall*. Some show of business, nevertheless, was being made when I came into the county in 1881.

And scarcely inferior to the Polgooth Mine, in its bearing on our prosperity, was the beginning of the China Clay trade in this region of Cornwall, which we may ascribe to the year 1768. In 1858 the railway invaded the parish—it had been for some time in the county (for if we are poor, we are enterprising)—the little minerals line from Bodmin to Wadebridge being one of the first constructed in England. This Plymouth-Truro-Penzance line was engineered by the celebrated Brunel; the

¹ “The great and rich mines of Polgooth once contributed to the rise of St. Austell, as the copper mines of Crennis and other mines around do now.” *Cornwall—its Mines and Miners*: London, 1855. Alas! they do this no longer.

² *A Journey into Cornwall*, 1799.

Saltash Bridge, which bears his name stamped upon it, and which involved twelve years' work (it was completed in 1859), is often pointed to as a monument of his skill : it certainly is no great evidence of his taste. As our county is seamed with valleys, and as the line maintains a high level, a considerable portion of it—not less, I have been assured, than *one twelfth* of the entire distance—consists of viaducts, which, with a view to economy, he constructed of wood. The result, however, has by no means answered to his expectations, for these seven miles of “spider bridges,” though undoubtedly picturesque, require to be carefully watched, and the huge beams, each of which bears upon it the date of its insertion, have to be constantly renewed, at a ruinous cost, so much so that the repairs of the bridges have absorbed all the dividends. However, these costly structures are now being everywhere replaced by arches of stone, and the Cornwall Railway has within the last few years been taken over by the Great Western, so that brighter days, we may hope, are in store for the shareholders. Brighter days, it is whispered, will also dawn for Cornish *travellers*, when the G. W. R. has no longer the monopoly in this county. But it is only giving that much-abused Company its due to add that it has vastly improved its accommodation and reduced its fares within the last few years. The conversion of the *Broad* into the “*Narrow Gauge*,” which was accomplished—200 miles and more, by 5,000 men in thirty-one hours (May 22nd, 1892)—amid considerable excitement on our part, and the inauguration of a new water supply¹ (on April 23rd, 1896), which gives us some of the best water in the world—it comes straight out of the granite bed, and is as soft as milk—are the latest events in the history of St. Austell.

¹ In 1786 we find the Vestry testifying that “the water lately brought from Bojea to supply the town of St. Austell is the sole property of Mrs. Mary Sawle of Penrice.” Till quite recently our water supply was dependent on Lord Mt. Edgcombe, whose tenants might at any moment, by their excavations, have cut it off at the source.

CHAPTER IV.

OUR INDUSTRIES.

ANY "Account of St. Austell," or of any representative "Cornish Parish," however brief, would be altogether incomplete without some reference to its *Mines*, *Clayworks*, and *Fisheries*. "Fish, tin and copper" has long been the Cornish toast. To this, in Mid-Cornwall at least, must now be added "Clay"—a more prosperous industry at the present time than any of the others. St. Austell is at this moment the most flourishing town in the county, just because, whilst other neighbourhoods have been depopulated or impoverished by the closing of the mines or the partial migration of the fish to other shores, the china clay trade goes on and increases. "By this craft we have our wealth." As, however, it is quite a modern industry, it is only fair to give the *pas* to years and begin with

I.—THE MINES.

And the more so, because "the revolution wrought by metals is the greatest that the world has yet seen or that it will ever see."¹ I have already observed that the town owes much of its prosperity, in past years, to the neighbouring tin mine of

¹ Clodd, p. 172, who adds: "Only when there was placed in man's hand the hard sharp-edged bronze or iron axe could he make quick clearance of the trees and hew his path to that goal of civilization which he could never have reached by stone implements."

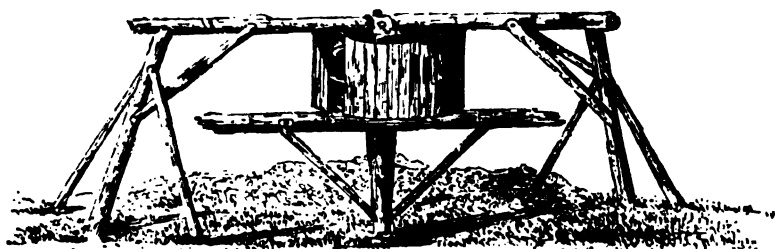
Polgooth ("St. Austell mining district is principally stanniferous"), on which at one period no less than twelve hundred hands were employed. Warner, who saw it in 1808, says that it then boasted of fifty shafts, twenty-six of which were still available, though it had been shut down for two years. Its depth was 124 fathoms. He describes the main vein of ore as about six feet thick, running from East to West and dipping to the North at the rate of about six feet in a fathom. He also affirms that it had yielded from £15,000 to £18,000 *per annum*. Upwards of £15,000 had however been expended before the adventurers netted one shilling.¹ The expense of erecting the engine and other machinery was nearly £20,000.² This is now worked no longer—not, however, because the ore is by any means exhausted,³ but because tin can be procured more cheaply from the Straits Settlement and other countries. This is why "the mines are dead"—as a mine captain observed recently. Attempts have been made from time to time to resuscitate Polgooth or to start fresh mines in the neighbourhood (I had a circular myself not long ago about a new venture, which turned out to be but a mile and a half from my doors. Its brilliant prospects were based, apparently, on

¹ *Tour*, p. 98. When Miss Fiennes visited it, it employed "more than 1,000 men." She says (p. 218): "There was at least 20 mines all in sight, with employs a great many people at work almost night and day."

² *Gazetteer of Cornwall*, which also reminds us that "The Blackmore Court, which is the most considerable of the Stannary Courts," was held at St. Austell.

³ There is plenty of tin in Cornwall, and there are plenty of men to work it. In the earlier half of 1894 a labourer repairing the roads near Belowdah—here pronounced Belovely—came upon evidences of tin under the highway. In a trice the owners of the land on either side had sunk shafts and constructed adits. They would probably have met (and fought) under the middle of the road had not one with great enterprise and resolution filled up the other's shaft, though it all but entombed his miners. "Although Cornwall has supplied most of the world with tin for certainly over 2,000 years, and probably more than 4,000 years, yet the output is now as large as ever." This was true a few years ago, but it is by no means the case now. Lord Mt. Edgumbe stated in 1884 that the average output of tin ore for the ten preceding years was a little over 14,000 tons.

the old reputation of Polgooth, for all the plant that I could discover was a couple of sheds, a drum and other tackle, and a heap of refuse), but they have none of them been brilliant successes, whilst most of them have been dismal failures. An enterprising promoter—here is one example—bought S——P—— mine some years ago for a small sum, I believe it was £1,500, and on the strength of this floated a company, capital £70,000. That promoter is now a wiser and a sadder man, and so are all they that put their trust in him. It is not often, however, I may observe here, that you find a Cornishman putting money into the mines of his own county; he sagely



"THE MINES ARE DEAD"—A CORNISH "WHIM," NEAR DUPORTH.

From a Sketch by the Author.

prefers to do the work for others. A proverb circulates amongst our miners to the effect that the county is divided between Cornishmen and Lun'oners, and that it is the privilege of the former to live by the latter. Advertisements offering to put investors into really good mines, paying at least from 15 to 20 per cent. dividend, do not attract them; they ask why the broker or promoter is willing to share so choice a thing with others, and whether he will *get you out* of a Cornish mine, when once you have found the bottom, as readily as he will put you into it.¹ All the same, several mines in this immediate

¹ Vide *Cornwall, its Mines and Miners*, pp. 244-5.

neighbourhood have been splendid successes. Such was Polgooth; such was the old Crinnis Copper Mine, near St. Blazey, which was abandoned several times, by the way, before its working resulted in a profit. In 1808 a mine captain pronounced it "not worth a pipe of tobacco." Nevertheless, in the year following, Mr. Joshua Rowe, with a band of co-adventurers, began working it again, but for some time without success—so much so that the co-adventurers by degrees dropped off, leaving to Rowe all the expense and the risk. But he was rewarded by the discovery of a rich and royal vein of ore, only ten feet, too, below the surface. It was not all profit, however, at first, as the co-adventurers now stepped in and claimed a share of the spoil, and Rowe had to fight them in the Law Courts at a cost of £20,000. But he won the day—he celebrated his victory, I have been informed, by roasting an ox whole and making a feast to his workmen—and in four and a half years made out of that mine a clear profit of £168,000. In 1816 it had passed into the hands of Mr. Matthew Wood, Lord Mayor of London.¹ It has long been closed. Wheal Eliza, also on the East side of the parish, has done a good business of recent years, but this, too, was closed in 1891. Smelting has for some time ceased amongst us, but the names of "Blowing House" and "Lower Blowing House" show where once the bellows worked.² It must be remembered that until comparatively recent days all metalliferous ores in this county were smelted by means of wood fires—indeed, it is said that our primæval forests have chiefly been cut down in order to feed the

¹ *Ibid*, p. 256. Hitchins and Drew (p. 70) give a table of the "Produce of Crinnis Mine" for the years 1811 to 1816—a total of 39,000 tons, the value of which was estimated at £298,516.

² "There are but few other blowing houses in Europe." (*Gazetteer of Cornwall*, 1817.) "Three spacious blowing houses" were at work in Stockdale's time, 1824. (*Excursions*, p. 48.)

“blowing houses”—and now our distance from the coal fields makes the process of fusion an expensive one. And here I shall make a brief digression ; I must spend a few words on the mining operations of the ancient Cornish, and this because a place in the parish, Pentewan, has revealed some of the *very oldest* workings in the world. Herodotus,



WHEAL PAR TIN MINE.

After a Photograph by W. Orchard.

as far back as B.C. 445, tells us that tin was brought to Greece “from the islands of the *Cassiterides*”¹—*kassiteros* is the Greek for *tin*, which the Latins called *plumbum album*, in contradistinction to lead, which they denominated *plumbum nigrum*. Then Polybius of Arcadia, B.C. 130, refers to the Bretannic

¹ Generally identified with the Scilly Isles. Others see in them “the tin islands in Vigo Bay.”

isles and the working of tin. So, of course, does Julius Cæsar, who invaded this country in B.C. 55. He tells us, however, that the tin came from the *inland* part of the country; no doubt Cornwall *was* inland to him. Publius Crassus, possibly one of Cæsar's generals, a short time before his (Cæsar's) invasion, had reached Scilly and taught the natives a better mode of mining.¹ The fullest account, however, is that of Diodorus Siculus in B.C. 44, a part of which I shall venture to quote. "They who dwell near the promontory of Britain, which is called *Bolerium* [*i.e.*, Cornwall] . . . obtain the tin by skilfully working the soil which produces it . . . working the ore and then fusing, they reduce it to metal, and when they have formed it into cubical shapes they convey it to a certain island lying off Britain named Ictis.² . . . From hence the merchants purchase the tin from the natives and carry it across into Gaul, and finally, journeying by land through Gaul for about thirty days, they convey their burdens on horses to the outlet of the River Rhone," whence it was, no doubt, shipped on to the Mediterranean. Strabo, writing about the year A.D. 18, speaking of the Cassiterides and their tin—which he, too, says was carried from Britain to Marseilles—adds that "formerly the Phœnicians alone carried on this traffick from Gadeira, concealing the passage [the Straits of Gibraltar?] from everyone, and when the Romans followed a certain shipmaster that they also might find the mart, the shipmaster of jealousy purposely ran his vessel upon a shoal, and leading on those who followed him into the same destructive disaster,

¹ Borlase, *Antiquities*.

² This has been variously supposed to be St. Michael's Mount—Diodorus goes on to say the tin is carried across *in wagons at low water*—the Isle of Wight, and the Isle of Thanet. "The almost unique physical characteristics of St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall conform precisely to the account given by Diodorus Siculus of the trading station from whence the Phœnicians obtained their tin." Taylor, *Words and Places*, p. 64.

he himself escaped by means of a fragment of the ship, and received from the State the value of the cargo he had lost.”¹ It is clear, consequently, that tin has been raised in Cornwall from time immemorial—indeed, the very mines afford internal evidence of this, “for at the depth of fifty fathoms the miners frequently meet with large timbers still entire, the props and pillars of the mines exhausted at an early age.”² Not only so, but dredging in Falmouth harbour some years ago brought up an ingot of tin, which in a very remarkable way confirms some of the preceding accounts. It is, as the illustration shows, in the shape of the letter H, and “its form adapts it for being laid in the keel of a boat, or slung on a horse’s side, two ingots



ASTRAGALUS OR BLOCK OF TIN FOUND IN FALMOUTH HARBOUR;
NOW IN THE MUSEUM OF THE ROYAL INSTITUTION OF
CORNWALL, AT TRURO.

After a Sketch by the Author.

thus forming a load for a packhorse.”³ But similar evidence

¹ I have not been able to refer to the originals. I quote these two passages from Vine's *Cæsar in Kent*, Chap. ii. Cornwall has few libraries.

² Ibid, p. 68. “In the stream works at Pentewan [see below] relics of human life and occupation were found more than *forty feet* below the surface and several feet beneath a *stratum* which contained the remains of a whale now extinct. Still deeper, and some fifty feet below the present level of the sea at high water, are some remnants of that forest, which extended all round our Western Coast, with oyster-shells attached to the stumps of the trees.” Worth, *Ancient Mining Implements of Cornwall*, p. 2.

³ Clodd, p. 176. “The form of the block of tin which was dredged up in Falmouth harbour is that of an *astragalus*, or knuckle-bone. It is 2 ft. 11 in. long, 11 inches wide, and 3 in. thick at the centre; perfectly flat on one side, but carved on the other, and having four prolongations of the corners, each 1 foot long. It is said by Diodorus that the inhabitants of Bolerium cast the tin into the form of *astragali* . . . The weight (about 130 lbs.) is just the proper weight for a horse having to carry two of them, on a pack-saddle.” James, *Journal Roy. Inst. Cornw.*, 1862, pp. 29-33. The weight is really 158 lbs.

has been supplied by our own parish. "In one [of the stream works on St. Austell moor] were lately found, about 8 ft. under the surface, two slabs or small blocks of melted tin of about 28 lbs. weight each, of a shape very different from that which for many years has obtained in Cornwall. They have semi-circular handles or loops to them, as if to sling and carry them more conveniently on horseback."¹ For whether the tin was shipped from the Isle of Wight or of Thanet, it had a long *land* journey, on packhorses, before it was put into the boat for Gaul, and it had a still longer horseback journey afterwards. But let us now come down to later days. Both John Lackland and Edward I. granted Charters to the tanners of this county—the former in 1201,² the latter in 1305—and these tanners paid a tax, 4s. per cwt., on the produce of their mines to the king as Earl of Cornwall. It is amusing to find that in the middle of the thirteenth century our miners already suffered from the competition of Germany! The mines of Bohemia and Misnia about 1241 greatly injured the English trade, and this would be the more keenly felt, as, according to Camden, "the metal called Tinn was found in Germany by a certain Cornishman who was banish'd his country." He adds that the competition did especial damage to Richard, Earl of Cornwall and King of the Romans,³ to whom the whole county of Cornwall, with its Stannary, had been granted by Henry III.⁴ St. Austell

¹ Dr. Borlase, *Nat. Hist.*, p. 163. Mr. W. C. Borlase states (*Journal*, Part iv., Supplem., p. 25) that some streamers near St. Austell found in May, 1765, a large cake of tin ore weighing about 6 lbs., some 5 ft. below the surface. A mass in which pebbles of stream-tin ore and fragments of charcoal were cemented by metallic tin was also discovered in our Trethowel Wood, immediately below the surface.

² After stating that "the Stannaries are our demesnes . . . The tanners are our farmers and always in our debt," it graciously adds, "However, the tanners shall be free and quit of pleas of natives."

³ *Britannia*, p. 4.

⁴ This Charter-roll, 15 Henry III., M. 4, long kept in the Tower, may be read in the *Report of the Trial at Bar, Rowe v. Brenton*, published by W. Walker, 1830. As might be expected, the State Papers teem with references to mining dues and grants.

was of late years one of the "coinage towns," but in 1838 "the duties payable on the coinages of Tin in Devon and Cornwall were abolished." Some of our mines, though not those of this neighbourhood, are of prodigious depth. Botallack, near the Land's End, has been worked down to 1875 at a depth of 2,448 feet, and right under the sea,¹ for copper, and the great Dolcoath copper mine, near Camborne, attains a depth of 2,226 feet—Mr. Thurstan Peter, in *Deacon's Court Guide*, gives the depth as 2,850 feet. He adds that 360,000 gallons of water are pumped out of this mine every twenty-four hours, and that its levels or galleries measure 74 miles. In 1850 it had yielded a profit of nearly £8,000,000.² We have in this parish, however, a mine which, though of no depth to boast of—in fact, its workings were near the surface, and are now open to the light of day—is equally interesting, and well repays a visit; I refer to the Carclaze pit,³ a mighty

Thus a Grant was made on Nov. 2nd, 1591, to Anthony Martin, the Royal cupbearer, empowering him to grant licenses to merchants to purchase tin in Cornwall and Devon and export the same. His perquisite was to be 4d. per cwt. In 1599 the Queen (Elizabeth) resolves to take into her own hands as much tin as has usually been exported and to sell it, "*giving better conditions to the poor tanners than merchants and dealers had done.*" She evidently piqued herself on her benevolence, for in a letter to the Tanners in 1600 she reminds them that she lends them £4,000 half yearly, without interest, and takes all the tin, whether perfect or not, at £27 the 1,000 lbs. On July 15th, 1606, a Grant was made to Robert, Earl of Salisbury, and to Sir John Popham, of the 15th part of every cwt. of copper from the mines; on Aug. 19th, 1607, John Verdun was appointed assayer of tin in Cornwall and Devon for life.

¹ According to one authority (*Cornwall, its Mines and Miners*), 480 feet below the ocean. He says that during storms even experienced miners have fled from the place in affright. Silver has been found in the Dolcoath lodes. Talking of submarine mining, a strange story comes to us from Wheal Cock—I had almost pronounced it a "cock and bull story." "In Wheal Cock, now a part of the Botallack sett, a miner had followed up the lode so near the sea that he drove his pick right through. The water rushed in, but he was not at all alarmed, and stopped the hole with a plug of wood, which after fifty years remained." *Journal R. Instit. Cornw.*, April, 1872. It is perfectly true, however, that "the sobbing of the sea" can be heard from the galleries of Botallack.

² *Cornwall, its Mines, etc.*

³ An astonishing view of "Carclaze Tin Mine" is given in Lysons, p. clxxxiii.

excavation, some two miles in circumference—in 1850 it covered five acres statute—and about 150 feet deep. It stands 665 feet above the sea. This is said to have been worked by the Phœnicians,¹ or, as our people phrase it, the “old men”—when they explore old workings they say they are “scratching the old men’s backs.”² Talking of these ancient operations, it may be interesting to state that wherever miners go, at home or abroad, even in places like Colorado or Montana, in search of the ore, they find invariably that the ancients have anticipated them; someone has dug these adits or streamed these valleys centuries ago—another proof that “there is nothing new under the sun.” And talking of “old men,” I am afraid that few of our miners attain a respectable age—say 60 years. A complaint—“miners’ consumption” it is called—dogs their steps. Dr. Barham found that out of 146 deaths of miners, 73—just one half—were due to this disease. Lanyon found in 1837 the average age of 1,101 men working underground to be 31 years, whereas of 174 agricultural labourers, the average age was 47.³ Carclaze, though

¹ “The Phœnicians established a vast colonial empire.” Isaac Taylor, *Words and Places*, p. 59. Still, he admits, as we must all do, that “whether the Carthaginians reached the shores of Britain is uncertain” (p. 64). We have no indubitably Phœnician names, such as are found in Sardinia, Spain and Portugal. Nor is it, of course, any *proof* that our people speak of old mine works as “Jews works,” old blocks of tin (of which masses have been found in various parts of the county) as “Jews pieces” or “Jews House Tin,” and old smelting-houses as “Jews houses.” The other name of Marazion, Market *Jew*, has been supposed to point to a Syrian settlement, but it is probably a corruption of *Margashiewe*=Thursday Market. Taylor interprets Marazion to mean “the hill by the sea.”

² Gold has been found in the county—among other places, in one of our St. Austell stream works [*Journal*, Part xv., p. 239], and recently, near the Helford River—but in small quantities. Many persons have had rings of Cornish gold. A piece weighing more than eight gold guineas is said to have been found once. “Silver has been discovered in considerable quantities.” (J. H. Collins.) Henwood speaks of the “occurrence of gold in every part of Cornwall which has afforded *stream* tin ore.” *Ibid*, p. 239.

³ *Cornwall, its Mines*, etc.

it is said to have been worked for tin for four hundred years, is a mine no longer : it is now a claywork. And this reminds me that it is time I passed on to speak of our Clay Industry. Before I do this, however, I shall first jot down a few particulars out of the life of a Cornish miner who has outlived most of his contemporaries. They may have some interest for the reader, as showing the sort of work our miners do in many parts of the world and the experiences they encounter, for this brief biography, I make no doubt, is a fair sample of its kind ; it represents substantially the career of hundreds more.

My informant began his mining operations in the year 1822, at the mature age of *six years*. As may be supposed, he was not overburdened with education (we had no School Boards then to provide pianos for the rising generation) when he went forth, a mere child, to work at Polgooth. His work was "trunking"—that is to say, this innocent had to stir up the metalliferous slime with a shovel—and his wage was *twopence per diem*. However, he wrought at it for some twelve years—not always, happily, at the same attenuated pay—and then he migrated to the Fowey Consols, the mine one sees on the left of the G. W. R. soon after you have left Par, where he was promoted to sevenpence a day ; before he left he had risen to fifteen pence, which then seemed to him a little fortune ! This was for work "at grass," *i.e.*, on the surface. Afterwards he went below, sometimes descending, by ladders, 200 or 300 fathoms below the adit. At first it was "tot" work, then he began to dig and delve "on tribute"—that is, he had a small percentage of the profits. His next move—he had meanwhile put in sixteen months at the Caradon Mine—was to America. He went out in a sailing vessel and had what was then esteemed a "good passage"—it only took forty-two days ! Landing at New York he passed to Phila-

delphia, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, Sault St. Marie, etc., in search of occupation, and found it at West Coniston, but it was sadly unremunerative; he did not earn enough to pay for his "meat," and left the place in debt, but he sent every penny that was due four or five years later. Thence he passed to the Bruce Mine in Canada, and thence again to Cuba, where he worked for a year but "did not like it," and so went on to Mexico, landing at Vera Cruz, whence he proceeded to the Real del Monte Mine, 300 miles away. Here he came on his *El Dorado*, or, let us say, his opportunity. An English Company had started a silver mine there, and brought out machinery at a prodigious expense from England, but after expending (it was *said*) £2,000,000 on the work and finding it comparatively unproductive, they abandoned it in despair. But a long-headed Scotchman organized a Mexican Company, who took over the mine, and in a short time paid the purchase money out of the refuse which they carefully cleaned, and when our St. Austell miner joined it, the enterprise was yielding 300 bars of silver per fortnight, and one bar was then worth £300. Needless to say, the canny Scot had his pickings—he came first, but it was also a good billet for the men: sometimes they would make £10 per week, but the average was £20 per month; men have sometimes got in England, and in this neighbourhood, £100 per month. It was a help that the Company received money on deposit at 6 per cent.; once they paid 10 per cent. Here he stayed ten years, and in that time saw *six* revolutions. On one occasion 9,000 men, insurgents, came to the mine and robbed the Company of 20,000 dollars; they also took 90 dollars belonging to our Cornishman—he was down the mine at the time, but the rebels held a pistol at his wife's head, and compelled her to disgorge his savings. They also made off with his gun

and his best hat, which he felt acutely. There were some 200 Cornishmen working there : the manager, who had been there thirty or forty years, had a salary of £50 per week—so at least it was believed, “and Gashmu saith it”—but after one of these revolutions he expressed a decided preference for the Workhouse on his native heath and its meagre fare, where he would at least have peace and quietness. This may have also induced our miner to move, for we next find him at Acapulco, on the Pacific side—on the coast, in fact. Thence he passed to California, during the gold fever. Here he did fairly well, but not so well as in Mexico. And the discomforts were considerable ; every man had to be his own “cook, slut, and butler” ; there was not a woman in the camp, and all the washing, starching, mending, patching—not to speak of other household chores—had to be done by masculine hands, or, as often as not, done without. In 1862 he returned home with his wife and child, and has altogether retired from the business, the dollars he earned so hardly across the water providing him with a modest competence during the latter half of his life.

II.—CLAYWORKS.

Among the precious things stored in our bleak and often bare hills—hills out of which, as we have seen, “thou mayest dig brass”—is a white powdery clay—*kaolin* the Chinese (who knew of its properties and uses long before we did) call it. On our moors (in the four granitic areas of Cornwall) you may see almost everywhere the primæval granite cropping out, and in many places under the surface there lies a sort of decomposed granite, a formation so very friable¹ that when

¹ “There is such a thing as soft natural granite”—the very granite that is so hard in the streets of London is found soft here. “Such softness arises from decomposition of

it is lightly broken up with the pickaxe, and streamed with water, this liquid is forthwith charged with china clay. And as in the mine, so in the claywork, the simple force of gravitation is used by the workman to separate the precious from the worthless, but with this difference—that in the former, after the ore is crushed by the stamps, the soil or sand is carried off by the current, the metalliferous earth sinking by its own weight and remaining behind, whereas in



A CLAYWORK.

After a Photograph by W. Orchard.

the latter it is the sand that remains, the lighter particles of clay being borne off in solution. (The huge white mounds which the traveller sees on all hands in this district are largely composed of such sand, the *residuum* after the clay has been

the rock, more particularly of the felspar in it." *Cornwall, its Mines*, etc., p. 73. "Felspar, as a German chemist says, is a mineral at all times disposed to play the part of a false friend and to forsake its companions in distress." *Londoner's Walk to the Land's End*, p. 186.

extracted. Some of these monster heaps—"the overburden" and the refuse sand together—it is worth recording, have been shifted *three times*, in order to get at the clay ground lying under them. Of course, this means bad management.)¹ This milky stream, charged with kaolin, is conducted, sometimes for long distances (for it is, of course, a great saving of labour if the "dry," of which I shall speak presently, adjoins the railway), to the "clay pits"—which are circular tanks



A DRY.

After a Photograph by B. Julian.

about 9 ft. deep and 30 ft. in diameter—in which the kaolin, or clayey sediment collects. This sediment has, however, first been purged of much of its *mica* and coarser particles as the stream passes slowly over shallow channels or launders, locally called "micas." "The more perfect the separation of crystalline matter, the purer and more plastic is the clay." At the

¹ "In one place I saw a party paring off the heather and digging away at the overburden. . . . The refuse was wheeled away a *short distance*." White, p. 187.

bottom of the pits—you generally find a line of these together—are plugs, which, after the sediment is sufficiently thick (say in two or three days), are raised, and the clay, now of the consistence of treacle, passes into monster tanks, lying at a lower level. Some of these will hold as much as 700 tons of clay. Here the mixture remains for three weeks or longer to thicken, when it is transferred to the waggons which convey it on tram lines—a light railway, in fact—right into the “dry.” This is a huge shed, with a well-ventilated roof, fitted with a roaring furnace at one end and with flues which traverse its length, terminating in a chimney at the other end of the building. On this tile floor the clay is rapidly dried—at the end nearest to the furnace in one day, at the opposite end in three or four days. It is then dug out in spadefuls and pitched to the front of the dry to await another shifting into the railway trucks. If it has to travel but a short distance, it is generally sent “in bulk,” *i.e.*, loose; if it has a long journey before it—and some may travel as far as to Bombay and Yokohama—it is crushed into barrels or bags—the latter are naturally much less expensive than casks, but will not bear so much banging about. The railway journey, however, is not a long one: it generally terminates at Par Harbour, or Fowey, or Pentewan. Some of our clay is sent by waggons—rough, lumbering structures they are, and suggestive of oxen—direct to the port of Charlestown, or to St. Austell Station, or to the weighbridge for Pentewan. The visitor may see almost any day a succession of these waggons passing through our narrow streets with their white loads¹;

¹ This procession of clay carts has been going on for about a century. “As we entered into St. Austle’s, we were met by several carts . . . with porcelain earth from St. Stephen’s parish . . . going for exportation to a little town . . . called Charlestown.” Warner, *Tour*, p. 96. This trade has been the making of Charlestown, which, at the beginning of the century, as one historian after another informs us, only numbered nine

on the return journey they are laden with coals. The export from this district is now about 400,000 tons *per annum*; in 1808 it was 1,200 tons from Cornwall¹; "in 1812 no less than 1,252 of China clay were exported from Charlestown to the potteries"²; in 1824 it had risen to "not less than 4,000"³; in 1838 the amount had increased to 20,784 tons of clay and 7,344 tons of China stone; in 1855 it stood at 80,000 tons, and the value was then about £3 per ton.⁴ Of our *potting* clay—there are two main branches of the trade, the "bleaching" and the "potting": for the former only the whitest clay is available, but for the china manufacture a yellow colour makes no difference—of potting clay the bulk goes, as one would expect, to the Staffordshire potteries.⁵ Little more than *one third* of the clay produced, however, is used for porcelain.⁶ Of bleaching clay, some goes to Manchester, where it is used as a dressing to stiffen as well as to whiten the calicoes; some is utilized in the manufacture of white paper; much is used in the manufacture of alum, sulphate of alumina and ultramarine; some goes to Paris to be served up in confectionery; some remains at home—it is whispered, to adulterate flour and artificial manures; whilst portions, they do say, after travelling to America, return to us in the shape

persons. Drew traces the growth of the place, and states that about 1,000 acres of waste lands in this neighbourhood—Gwallon Downs—were reclaimed within the century.

¹ Warner. ² *Cornwall, its Mines, etc.*, p. 74. ³ Stockdale, *Excursions*, p. 48.

⁴ In the *Journal Roy. Inst. Cornwall*, Part xviii., will be found a paper prepared by Mr. J. H. Collins, showing how the output of China clay and stone has risen gradually from 2,919 tons in 1809 to 226,309 in 1874.

⁵ "There was a time when we bought our china from the Chinese: they alone were believed to possess the materials necessary for its manufacture, until *kaolin* was discovered elsewhere." Specimens brought by a mining adventurer from Virginia in 1745 were valued at £13 per ton. White, *Londoner's Walk*, etc.

⁶ So it was stated by Mr. Jon. Rashleigh in his Presidential Address to the Royal Instit. of Cornwall. *Journal*, Part xviii., p. 256.

of artificial teeth! So that, altogether, if "the mines are dead," the clay trade is very much to the contrary. No doubt the profits are not what they were: much more clay is raised, but, as constantly happens, the prices are greatly reduced by a ruinous competition, and whereas in olden days it sometimes fetched £5 per ton, £1 is now an average price. Still, St. Austell has no right to complain; more money, it is said, passes through our Post Office, than through those of Truro, Camborne, or Penzance. And it is easy to see where that money comes from; the residences of our prosperous clay merchants are among the *notabilia* of the place.

And here let me commemorate the man who discovered this hid treasure, which has contributed so much to our prosperity. It was one William Cookworthy, a porcelain manufacturer at Plymouth. He was born at Kingsbridge in 1705, was altogether a self-made man, his mother being a widow with a large family, and his father having lost his property in South Sea stock; was a devout Quaker and also a Swedenborgian, a firm believer, too, in the use of the divining rod, on which, in fact, he wrote a treatise.¹ When he took out a patent in 1768 for the manufacture of Plymouth china, he said that he had first found the "kaulin" nearly twenty years before. So the foundation of our China Clay trade must have been laid by him between 1745-50; in fact, in a letter written May 5th, '45, he speaks of meeting the person who had discovered the china earth "in the back of Virginia." Having seen the Virginian kaolin and the petunze (china or growan stone), he presently discovered china clay at Tregonning Hill, in St. Breage parish. Once the kaolin was identified, Cookworthy quickly recognized its appearance at several points in the granitic area of Cornwall and Devon. One of

¹ He is said to have learnt its virtues from Capt. Pereira, a Spaniard.

the last spots, if not *the* last, where he discovered China clay or 'stone, was *the* China clay district *par excellence*, namely, the region of St. Stephen in Brannel and St. Dennis—five or six miles distant from St. Austell—but at Carloggas in this region he found both. He was quite unaware of the immense deposit at Lea Moor, near Plympton. His patent of '68 he afterwards sold to Mr. R. Champion, of Bristol, but neither the Plymouth nor the Bristol porcelain works were profitable.¹ He died in 1780. The famous Josiah Wedgwood made copious use of our China clay in his potteries. For our

III.—FISHERIES,

except for purposes of private consumption, we cannot claim the same remote antiquity as for our mining operations. True, St. Levan, a primitive saint, who has given his name to one of our Mission Churches, is reported to have been often seen, very scantily attired, fishing from the rocks near the Land's End, but that was to satisfy his slender wants—the trade was not supplied. Yet our county's export trade in fish—not to speak of consignments inland—goes much farther back than many people imagine, and is still a considerable industry, involving a capital of £300,000 and employing a large number of men. The pilchard, or "gipsy herring," is—or rather was—our speciality, being found nowhere else, save on the opposite shores of Brittany and on the south coast of Ireland, and of this "sixty thousand hogsheads have been caught in the bay of St. Austell and exported from Fowey in one season."² "On an average 30,000 hogsheads have been exported annually." The shoal is supposed to divide its forces

¹ For these particulars I am largely indebted to a paper on *The Clays of Cornwall and Devon*, by R. N. Worth, and to the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

² Bell's *Gazetteer*, s. v., Cornwall; Lysons, ccxii.

at the Land's End, a contingent passing up each side of the county. These fish are believed to winter in the deep waters round the Scilly Isles (Warner says "in the Arctic seas"!), where they lie low. In the spring they rise to the surface and form shoals, which finally congregate into a compact host, which is driven towards our coast by dogfish and other enemies; indeed, the fish behind have been known to force those before to the beach, so that they could be taken up in buckets or by the hand with ease. Its appearance is looked for in July and its disappearance in November—the "inshore fishing" begins in August. A school of pilchards has been known to be 100 miles long. "It is said that in 1846, 75,000,000 of pilchards were caught at St. Ives in one day, worth, at £2 per hogshead, £60,000,"¹ and they have been sold (*e.g.*, in 1876) at £5 per hogshead. In the days of Queen Elizabeth²—how much earlier I cannot say—a brisk trade

¹ Tregellas, *Tourist's Guide to Cornwall*, p. 39, to which I owe some other particulars. Wilkie Collins, in his *Rambles beyond Railways*, London, 1851, says that at the small fishing cave of Trereen 600 hogsheads were taken in one week of August, 1850, which, allowing 2,400 fish to a hogshead—3,000 would be the *maximum*—gives a catch of 1,440,000 pilchards. At St. Ives, about the same time, 1,000 hogsheads were taken in the first three seine nets cast into the sea. Warner informs us that in 1801, 10,000 hogsheads, landed at St. Ives, were sold for manure at 10s. the cartload, and that in 1807 they actually realized 15s. *per ton* at Port Isaac! He also states that in the years 1786 and 1787 not a single pilchard appeared on the Cornish coast. "The pilchards cured and exported during 1869 amounted to 15,139 hogsheads; the prices ranged from 64s. to 72s. *per hogshead*." *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, No. xii., p. xv. The same authority (April, 1873, p. 160) states that the average quantity exported from 1815 to 1877 is 16,400 hogsheads. In 1871 it rose to 45,680 hogsheads. The value of the flowers exported from Scilly exceeds £1,000 *per annum*.

² The State Papers of this reign contain many references to the pilchard fishery. Thus, on July 17th, 1591, Cely writes to the Lord Treasurer that "great preparations are being made for conveying away pilchards"—they were furnished, in fact, to the enemy. On February 15th, 1592, a grant was made to Henry Warner of the farm for license for salting, drying, and packing fish in the counties of Devon and Cornwall; later on, in 1607, we find Mr. Warner in arrear with his dues. In the same year the Queen sanctioned a collection of 2s. *per hogshead* on pilchards exported out of these counties by strangers or in strange bottoms, and 1s. *per hogshead* on those exported by Englishmen or in

in this article was carried on between Cornwall and the Mediterranean, for in 1584 Norden testified¹ that "they carry them into Spayne, Italie, Venice, and divers places within the straytes where they are vendible, and in these parts took the name *fumados*, for that they are dried in the smoake." Hence an old Cornish name for this fish, "fair maids,"² a curious corruption of the Italian word, just as the "Jerusalem" artichoke is a perversion of the Italian *girasole*, and much as our "junket" represents the Italian *giuncate*—giunco being the word for the rushes on which this commodity was carried. The pilchard is now no longer "smoked"; we have greatly improved on that primitive process, and now convert thousands of them into "sardines in oil"—they are almost as good eating, and there is considerably more of them. "Marinated pilchards," *i.e.*, the same fish pickled in vinegar, with bay leaves, peppercorns, etc., is also a favourite dish, and as pilchards can be bought for twelve a penny—sometimes for 3d. per hundred—it is a distinctly economical one. This fish, as the reader will be prepared to hear, holds a considerable place in our speech and thoughts. A clouded, sultry morning is said to be the harbinger of "het [heat] and pilchards." Anything particularly good, ambitious or excessive is compared to "cream on pilchards." We have in St. Austell, on the

English bottoms, towards the expense of fortifying Plymouth. Similarly in the reign of James I., on July 23rd, 1619, a grant was made to Henry Heron of the sole license for drying, salting, etc., these fish. This Patent, however, was objected to by the fishermen as contrary to ancient customs and very injurious to the fishing trade.

¹ Similarly Camden writes, "They make likewise a very gainful trade of those little fishes they call Pylchards, which are seen upon the sea coast in great swarms; these they catch, salt, smook, barrel, press, and so send them in great quantities to France, Spain and Italy, where they are a welcome commodity, and are called *Fumados*. At one Fishery, viz., *Mousehole*, many times 800: sometimes 1,000 Hogsheads of *Fumados* are saved in a year." *Britannia*, p. 6.

² A Cornish witness once electrified both Bar and Bench by stating gravely that he had been eating "fair maids."

north side of the railway, a "Palace Road," and many ingenious conjectures have been hazarded as to where the palace stood and whose it was. Hitchins and Drew affirm it to have been the abode of the May family, and appeal to the flowers growing in the fields as evidences of a former garden. I have little doubt myself that the "poore village" never had a "palace" at all—there are certainly no traces of its departed greatness¹—but suspect that, *if* the name is ancient, this road led to a "pallace," which is the name for the cellar in which pilchards are barked [bulked?], or stored. The name of "huer" again—compare "hue and cry"—said to be old French, is the name given to the watcher posted on the cliffs to mark the approach of the pilchard shoals, which colour the sea with a carmine tint²; he waves a bush at the same time, and the boat turns, right or left, as the bush turns. "Hubba"—no doubt a connexion of "hubbub"—and "hevah" describe the cries raised when the fish come into view. The pilchard fishery, however, is not the source of profit that it was formerly, at least in St. Austell Bay, though the neighbouring town of Mevagissey—"Fishagissey" some frivolous people have called it—is still a great fishing station, and it is not an unknown thing for the boats—there is, I believe, a fleet of 120, all told—to take £400 worth of mackerel in a night. Indeed, not so very long ago, one boat took over 5,000 mackerel, and these were sold at 18s. per 100.³ A single boat again has brought to shore over 50,000 fish, of sorts, as the result of one

¹ The word "palace" being reserved for royal and episcopal residences, it could only be bestowed on any other building in jest or derision, just as we now speak of "Tregonissey Palace."

² The mackerel shoal can be traced by the smooth appearance it gives to the water. The density of the pilchard school is also indicated by the colour it imparts to the sea.

³ "In October, 1844, the Mounts Bay boats took 1,400,000 mackerel, for which they received £4,000." Tregellas, *Tourist's Guide*, p. 41.

night's drifting. It is somewhat provoking that nearly all this fish passes our doors on its way to London or elsewhere—you may see a string of fish carts on many a fine afternoon on their way to our Railway Station to despatch their contents by the “perishable goods” train, and this whilst some of our people, especially in the country, have to get their fish from Grimsby, and even to our St. Austell “soup and fish houses” it is not unseldom supplied from Plymouth. We have absolutely no fish shop, and were it not that a douce and persuasive Mevagissey man is good enough to come round with a cart and afford us the opportunity of making most advantageous bargains, especially if we will take a quantity, we should fare badly indeed, so far as a fish diet is concerned, and fish, as everybody knows, is good for the brain—the Germans say there can be “no thinking without phosphorus.” Formerly pilchards were caught in *seines*, prodigious nets hundreds of feet in length—we read of nets which cost £170 and are 190 fathoms long¹—which were dropped around the pilchard school and enclosed it. This sort of fishing had one advantage, that it was done in broad daylight. The seine boat, the boat with the net on board, was rowed where the “huer” could see it; it was attended by a smaller boat to assist in shooting the net. When the huer gave the signal, which he did when the shoal was embayed in water not too deep for the net to fathom, the seine was shot overboard. As it was a mere enclosing net, without top or bottom—the bottom is formed by the floor of the sea—all that was necessary to provide was that it should be weighted with lead on one side, so that this might sink to the bottom, whilst the opposite side was buoyed up on the surface by corks. It was then payed out, as the boat proceeded round the shoal. If the fish were frightened and tried

¹ Collins, *Rambles beyond Railways*.

to escape, the huer would at once observe it, and the boat would be directed so as to enclose them. When the school was encompassed by this barrier of net, secured by two or three ropes to points of the land, the fisherman had a whole reservoir of living pilchards at his command, and could let down a "tuck-net" into the enclosed waters. This has a bag at its bottom, and certainly bags the fish. Then comes the "bulking," a work chiefly done by women.¹ The net having been drawn to shore and the fish transferred—wooden shovels are used—to handbarrows and carried to the salting house, a rude quadrangular building—one such may be seen at Porthpean, much resembling an Eastern caravanserai—the pilchards are piled on layers of salt; in fact, a bank of alternate salt and pilchards sometimes rises to the height of four feet, and men and women may be seen standing up to their knees in pilchards. The fish are laid edgewise and close together, and then remain "in bulk" from four to six weeks—thirty days is an usual period—the oil, salt and water dripping from them into wells in the floor of the cellar—"pilchard cellar," by the way, is a misnomer, for it is always above ground and open to the light of day. Then they are taken up, washed, and packed in hogsheads, as tightly as possible, to squeeze out the remaining oil, which escapes through a hole in the bottom of the barrel. From 2,400 to 3,000 pilchards go to a hogshead, and it takes 300 lbs. of salt to cure them. Fifteen or twenty hogsheads of fish will on an average yield one hogshead (63 gallons) of oil. The fish in the cask are pressed for eight days, after which it is "headed up" for exportation.²

¹ A fair and readable description of the Pilchard Fishing and Curing may be seen in *A Corner of Old Cornwall*, Chap. v.

² *Gazetteer of Cornwall*, 1817. Cummings, *Cury and Gunwalloe*, p. 202, has a good story. An old fisherman, being asked how many hogsheads of pilchards they had caught, replied, "'Ted na 'hogshead,' I tell 'ee. 'T'es a *hosged*. Who ever heerd tell o' a pig's head full o' pilchards? 'I'es a *hosged*."

CHAPTER V.

OUR TOWN.

IF there is much that is fanciful or conjectural about our history, no such reproach can by any means be urged against our town; it is distinctly a matter-of-fact and prosaic place. It is impossible to pretend that it has aught of poetry or picturesqueness about it; its warmest admirers must admit that it is somewhat *triste* and mean and gloomy. "The buildings are not deserving of particular notice, except the market house and the Church"—so the *Gazetteer of Cornwall* allowed in 1817. "The town is not elegant," says a writer of sixty years ago; "St. Austle is a poor town, but the parish is populous," says another, a few years later¹; "The little Cornish town of St. Austell affords few attractions to the visitor," is the verdict of a recent historian; "It contains only one object of interest, the Church," says Tregellas. There is one exception, however, to this chorus of depreciation. Lipscomb speaks of the town as neat and well built. But "his talk is of bullocks"—he praises the "large shops" and never mentions the Church at all. Wesley too described it² as "a neat little town on the side of a fruitful hill." But then he writes, *per contra* (on Aug. 17th, 1789), "I knew not where to preach, *the street being so dirty*." I must sorrowfully admit that these witnesses are true, and

¹ *Illustr. Itin.*, p. 105.

² *Works*, vol. ii., p. 427.

I must add that this is a reproach which it shares with almost every town and village in the county¹; I may also say that of late years much has been done to improve its appearance. The *fringe* of the place—that is to say, wherever the town melts into the country—is simply charming,² and has delightful houses, with charming and delightful ladies therein, but our streets are narrow and irregular, our pavements are by consequence narrower still or are none at all,³ and our houses



ST. AUSTELL. FROM THE SOUTH.

After a Photograph by B. Julian.

¹ It has been said of St. Ives that "he who wishes to think well" of the place "should depart before entering it." And another writer remarks—and with good reason—on "the dreary squalor" of Probus. R. C. Hope, *Legendary Lore of the Holy Wells of England*.

² Warner was apparently struck with this feature in 1808. Before describing the town as "narrow but neat," and the Church as a "beautiful example of Gothic architecture," he speaks of the *country* as "decorated with several gentlemen's seats, some respectable woods and highly ornamental grounds." *A Tour through Cornwall*, p. 95.

³ I have already quoted (p. 32 above) the strange statement, "The streets are narrow, and not being paved *are unsafe for foot passengers*." *Gazetteer of Cornwall*, 1817. Similarly, in 1855, the town was described as "having narrow streets, ill-paved, and a fine old Church tower, curiously ornamented." *Cornwall, its Mines, etc.*, by J. R. L., p. 25. It is noticeable how later writers almost re-echo unconsciously Leland's description, "A poor village with a Paroche Church."

and shops are of all or no styles of architecture. We have no antient buildings except the Church, and there is, so far as I know, only one bit of antientry, in the shape of a Gothic doorway,¹ in our lanes and courts. I can only think of two houses which have any pretensions to a respectable age or to any degree of quaintness—the house so long and so honourably occupied by the Veale family at the foot of Menacuddle Street, and that now the dwelling of Mr. W. B. Luke, Printer, in the Fore Street, which latter, I have understood, was once, together with the house on either side, the dower house of the Tremayne family. It is a puzzle to know—and this remark applies to the whole county—where all the relics of the past, other than barrows, cromlechs, dolmens, and crosses (in which it is remarkably rich—only Yorkshire has more inscribed stones)²—have disappeared to. We have a considerable number of Nonconformist sanctuaries—nineteen in all—but I do not believe that their staunchest supporters would say that their architectural features constituted their strong point. We cannot, therefore, pride ourselves on our buildings—save perhaps the Workhouse already referred to and the new brewery, and, let me not forget to add, one of our Board Schools popularly known as “Tregonissey Palace.”³ The Liberal Club has also some pleasing features, but the same cannot be said for the new building of the Young Men’s Christian Association, nor yet can we boast of the *external* appearance of our new Public Rooms. But why dwell on these sad defects, which the visitor can so easily see for himself, and when he perchance may esteem our public and private

¹ On the right hand side as you begin to ascend Market Hill. This was pointed out to me by Preb. Hingeston-Randolph.

² In Langdon’s *Old Cornish Crosses*, no less than 328 are figured or described.

³ Mount Charles Board School, though not conspicuous for architectural merit, has one feature of interest : it was the first Board School opened in England.

buildings more highly than does the writer—I have known people think our little river, which is charged with china clay, much more striking than a pellucid trout-stream.¹ The Market House and Town Hall—I had nearly forgotten them : by a judicious and economical combination they are collected under one roof—are not without a certain picturesqueness ; I do not refer to the façade—that is sufficiently plain, but to the arcade which leads to the market and the gallery which encloses it. This building dates from 1844.² It had been meditated for some years—certainly since 1834. The old Market House (built in 1791, and replacing a still older building of the time of the Commonwealth), as may be seen from old prints, almost encroached on the Churchyard—it is significant that our forefathers built their places of business under the shadow of the Church.³ We have but one antiquity outside the Churchyard, the MENGU or MENAGU STONE,⁴ recently laid down at the “Fool’s Corner”⁵—a brass calls attention to it—after it had long formed part of the adjoining

¹ Lipscomb makes a ludicrous mistake in this connection. He writes in his *Journey*, p. 265, “We crossed one stream as white as milk and very turbid, which no doubt was the water of the mine which we had just visited” ! Our nine streams flow with honey—at least, they are of that colour.

² The Parish records of that year tell us that it was “now approaching completion.” On February 26th, 1845, the Vestry met in it for the first time.

³ “It was only in the reign of Edward III. that an edict was issued for the removal of fairs and markets from Churchyards to some neighbouring ground.” St. Paul’s in London—the body of the Church—was long used as a place of exchange and for business interviews. . . . “Something of the same ancient feeling that religion and business were connected . . . long made Churchyards the place of trade, and has made markets in towns to locate themselves by the Cathedral or principal Church in numberless instances.” *Hist. Village Community*, p. 39. At St. Germans, at the time of the Conquest, the weekly market was held on a Sunday. *Histl. Notices of St. Germans*, p. 6.

⁴ “Inquire for anything remarkable in the town, and you will hardly fail to be told of the Mengu Stone.” *A Londoner’s Walk to the Land’s End*. By Walter White : London, 1855. This author ascribes the veneration with which it is regarded to the probability that “nobody knows anything about it.” (p. 185.)

⁵ This was done on October 12th, 1892.

roadway. The three manors of Trenance-Austell, Towington, and Treverbryn are reputed to meet here, and tradition affirms that a woman accused of being a witch was here burned alive—we know that our forefathers did indulge occasionally in such *autos da fé*.¹ What is more certain is that declarations of war, proclamations of peace, and other public notices were formerly read here, but I take it that was because it stood in the very centre of the town. Perhaps for the same reason, impounded and unclaimed cattle were here exposed to view and then sold. Anyhow, it was to our town what the “golden milestone” was in the Roman forum, the *umbilicus* of the place. I have heard it said that it is of *catacleuse* stone, which would of itself show that it is a monument of some distinction, for if so, it must have been brought hither from Padstow.

At the other end of the Churchyard is the *Bull Ring*, so called because of the bull-baitings formerly held on this spot; it is reported that a great lady in the neighbourhood erected a stand, from time to time, to view the sport, and that it rested, by special arrangement, on the Churchyard wall.² The

¹ The Registers of St. Andrew, Newcastle-on-Tyne, under date of Aug. 21st, 1650, record the execution of fifteen witches. Thirty women were accused at once—a witch-tryer, it should be said, had been brought from Scotland, and had been promised 20s, for every witch *he could convict*—they were carried to the Town Hall and stripped, when pins were thrust into their flesh to test their sensibility. Naturally, most of them were found guilty—was he not paid by results?—and sixteen women only survived their tortures to die on the gallows. Sir Thomas Browne, of the *Religio Medici*—the author, too, of *Vulgar Errors*!—swore against two women who were tried for witchcraft before Sir Matt. Hale and were condemned—this was in 1664. Even the saintly Richard Baxter exulted in the death of a poor old crazy Vicar of eighty years of age, who was accused of having dealings with the devil. See Waters, *Parish Registers of England*, pp. 58-9. In 1618-19 two women were burnt at Lincoln for the alleged crime of witchcraft, and as late as 1745, Ruth Osborne and her husband were drowned at Tring by a mob of over 5,000 persons for the same supposed crime. A full account is given in Chambers' *Book of Days*, ii., pp. 249-50.

² It was only in 1835 that this popular but barbarous pastime was prohibited by Act of Parliament, a Bill introduced into the Commons in 1802 for suppressing it having been thrown out. It had then been for seven centuries a recognized British sport, and not

street leading hence to the Station is called *High Cross Street*, a name which suggests very different associations. Probably a Churchyard cross—there were scores of them in this county; some are still in existence—under the shadow of which the friars may have preached, stood hard by where the bulls were worried. Half-way up the street, on the left hand, is the *Friends Meeting House*, where many “rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep”; opposite is the entrance to a closed Burial Ground. It contains no monuments of any especial interest. In the house above the Cornish Bank—a brewery belonging to the Corys and Colensos once stood here—Bishop Colenso was born. I have heard it said that the Colensos succeeded one of the Allsopps in this brewing business. The *White Hart Hotel* is of some antiquity in the town; we can trace it back as far as 1735, but it then stood in the Fore Street; its present home was formerly the abode of Mr. Charles Rashleigh, the founder of Charlestown; a large dining-hall at the back still shows the imitation tapestry paper with which he covered the walls. It was probably at its predecessor in the Fore Street that Miss Celia Fiennes lay when she passed through our town in the reign of William and Mary.¹ The reader will pardon me if I digress to cite her description of the place; it comes in *fort à propos* in connection with the hotel. “Thence [from “Parr”] I went over the heath to St. Austin’s, w^{ch} is a Little market town where I Lay, but their houses are like Barnes² up to ye top of ye house.

among the “lower orders” only; Queen Elizabeth, for example, much affected it. And it lasted after *bear-baiting* had fallen into disuse. Bulls were baited at Gulval, near Penzance, as late as 1814.

¹ *Through England on a Side Saddle*, pp. 217-18.

² What can the lady mean? Is she referring to our “cob” walls, or to the chambers which have no ceilings? Some cottages have none even now; as you lie in bed you have a fine view of the slates.

Here was a pretty good Dineing room and Chamber within it and very neate country women. My Landlady brought me one of ye West Country tarts; this was ye first I met wth, though I had asked for them in many places in Sommerset and Devonshire; it is an apple pye wth a Custard all on the top; it's ye most acceptable entertainment y^t Could be made me. They scald their Creame and Milk in most parts of these Countreys, and so it's a sort of Clouted Creame as we call it, wth a Little sugar, and soe put on ye top of ye apple pye. I was much pleased wth my supper, tho' not with the Custome of the Country, w^{ch} is a universall smoaking,¹ both men and women and children have all their pipes of tobacco in their mouths, and soe sit round the fire smoaking, w^{ch} was not delightfull to me when I went down to talke with my Landlady for jnformation of any matter and Customs amongst them." This same hotel—we may assume that she speaks of the White Hart—was warmly praised by Lipscomb in 1799, as "the best in Cornwall and the cheapest we had met with on our journey." "I should be wanting," he adds, "in my duty to all my travelling readers did I not strongly recommend the *White Hart* at St. Austell to their favour." Similarly, Stockdale in 1824 pronounced it "an excellent house for commercial gentlemen." I am glad to believe that it still deserves these encomiums. The visitor will observe our many courts, or "opes" as they are called locally; they branch out of the main street especially, and are quite a feature of the

¹ Miss Fiennes would find a very marked improvement amongst us in this respect, were she to revisit us. No one would now say that "smoaking" was one of our besetting sins, owing largely to the disfavour with which it has been viewed by Dissent. "He be a smoaker," it was remarked to me of one of the ministers, as amply accounting for all his unpopularity, and one is often told, as proving the steadiness of a young man, that he "neither drinks nor smoaks." He may have half-a-dozen illegitimate children, but that's quite a different thing; that's "natur."

town.¹ Only a few years ago, I regret to say, there were scores of houses here without conveniences of any kind—think of this in the nineties of the nineteenth century! The “Old Hill,” or “West Hill,” represents the *facilis descensus Averni* which all vehicles must formerly make on their way to the West. (How a crowded coach or van ever contrived to descend it in safety is a marvel to me; probably the passengers disembarked at the top: they were certainly ill-advised, if they did not. And it is equally a wonder how they managed to drag ponderous mine boilers—from the Hayle foundry—up it, but they did, with the aid of many horses, as some of the oldest inhabitants can remember. Such hills as this, and there are many worse, justify the remark of a cleric recently come from the levels of East Anglia that “our roads are precipitous.”) Not until seven miles further on did they come on what we should now call a high road. This was Miss Fiennes’ experience; she was two-thirds of the journey to Truro, when she “Came into a broad Coach Rode, *which I have not seen since I left Exeter.*” Moreover, our Old Hill represents the *new* road made in 1760; that new road made no new departure here. The fact is, our town shows at every point that it was laid out in the days of pack-horses. Miss Fiennes writes (p. 225), “All over Cornwall and Devonshire they have their carryages on horses backs.” She is eloquent about our precipices. Of the descent into Truro she says, “You would be afraid of tumbling wth nose and head foremost.” The

¹ One of these courts, still known as “Biddick’s Ope,” preserves the memory of a somewhat original character. Dr. Biddick was a medical practitioner, who had the singular habit of always making his rounds after dark. Even patients far away in the country he would reserve for a night journey. You might meet the man almost any day—no, any *night* of the week, armed with an ordinary stable lantern and a stout stick, pursuing his vocation; if you encountered him in the daytime, you might be sure it was a case of life and death. He was the possessor of a fairly good collection of rare prints and engravings, which were sold at his decease.

present "Truro Road" only goes back some sixty years. The new "Bodmin Road" was made about 1840; the old road through Trenance reminds me of the old Norwegian—and indeed Roman—tracks, which went fearlessly up hill and down dale, never dreaming of skirting the side of the hills. One good level road, however, we *do* possess—that to Pentewan, of which more hereafter. As we pass down Vicarage Hill to join it, the Old Vicarage—the Glebe House until 1882—may be seen on the right; at the back may still be descried the arms of the Tremaynes; it is figured (after a drawing by the Rev. R. Hennah, made in 1810) by C. S. Gilbert in his *Survey*. The street below, now called "Duke Street," does not owe its name, I believe, to the *Duke* of Cornwall, although he is one of our landowners and a prince of the realm to boot, but to a *Duck* Pond, which formerly stood where the Congregational Chapel—long known as the "Calvinist Chapel"—now stands.¹ And here our perambulation of the town must terminate. I am painfully conscious, though I am its attached Vicar, of its many imperfections, not the least of which are its crabbed and tortuous and dirty streets. They give it an air of gloom and meanness. I shall be glad if anything that I have written contributes, in ever so slight_a degree, to its reformation in this respect.

¹ The Colensos, father and mother of the bishop, were at one time the main pillars and supports of this sanctuary. *À propos* of "pillars," there is a good story which really belongs to St. Austell. A curious old fossil, B—d—n by name, was one day speaking disparagingly of a brother Wesleyan. "I'm surprised to hear you describe him like that," said one who was present, "why, I thought he was one of the pillars of your Chapel." "Pillar o' the Chapel," remarked B—— with infinite scorn; "he's a *caterpillar*; that's what 'e is!" This same B—— on another occasion sold a jibbing horse. Before the bargain was concluded, the purchaser inquired carefully whether the beast could draw. "Draw," cried B——, "why, you'd be *delighted* to see him draw!" This sounded satisfactory enough, so the purchase was made. Great was the surprise and distress of the buyer when he had harnessed the horse to a cart, and then found he wouldn't budge an inch, and his complaints to B—— were deep and loud. But he did not get much change out of him. "Didn't I tell you," he shouted, "that you would be *delighted* to see him draw!"

CHAPTER VI.

OUR PARISH ARCHIVES.

MY last chapter was a brief description of St. Austell Town. We saw that it still leaves much to be desired. But what was it like *formerly*—what was its life, its occupations, its concerns, its government? Well, we have happily a picture, if only a slight one, of the St. Austell of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, preserved for us in that ACCOUNT BOOKE OF ST. AUSTELL of which mention has been made already.¹ It goes back to "the yeare of our Lord 1671," when Joseph Maye the younger was Vicar, and Thomas and Samuel Hodge were Churchwardens,² and comes

¹ There is in it a memorandum in 1695: "The *old Account book* of ye Parish lyes now in the hands of Mr. Wm. Vivian"; and in 1741: "Mr. Carthew has given a Receipt for an old Parish Book." Alas! that it should have disappeared. Its value would be incalculable. It may still be in existence somewhere.

² The archives or accounts of Ipswich, to give a few examples, begin in 1200; those of Tavistock in 1287 (the Churchwardens' accounts are from 1425); those of the Municipal Church of St. Lawrence, Reading, date from A.D. 1410, "and are tolerably complete down to the present time" (Kerry's *History*, etc.); those of SS. Edmund and Thomas, Sarum, to 1443; those of St. Peter in the East, Oxford, to 1444; of St. Michael's, Bishop Stortford, to 1431; of All Saints', Derby, to 1465; of Horley, Surrey, to 1507; the *Counte boke* of Stratton to 1512. "*The Churchwardens' Accounts of the Town of Ludlow*" begin with 1540; those of St. Michael's, Cornhill, with 1546; those of Wenhamston, Suffolk, with 1551; those of Loughborough with 1583; the *Liber Compti*, or "Green Book," of St. Columb goes back to 1585; the Overseers' Accounts of Holy Cross, Westgate, Canterbury, to 1642. Some of these are of profound interest to the antiquary. As a rule, they have been treated with gross neglect, and it is a marvel

down to April, 1783. Like the Register book, of which I shall treat hereafter, its beginnings are much better than its ending; the earlier pages are written in a scrupulously neat hand, but the same cannot be said of many subsequent leaves. No doubt here, as elsewhere, someone was at first *paid* for keeping these records. We come across such entries as—“Pd. for writting these accoumpts, 3s.”; “Gave John Eastlake for writting, 5s.”; “To pay Sampson Eastlake for Transcribing the Register, 03 : 04.” “Then came a time when Churchwardens and Overseers imagined they could perfect their own accounts. What they did was to leave a record of their own unfitness for office.”¹ I must say, however, that our St. Austell accounts, compared with some others, are of a high order. Of course, no one expects perfection in spelling or in grammar—at least, anyone who does look for these qualities in antient records will be doomed to disappointment; it is quite a modern idea that words should be spelt—or “spelled” (we have still some trifling liberty left to us)—in one uniform way; even in the last century persons of quality wrote words at will, sometimes in one form, sometimes in another. But the variations in our Book are, I incline to think, much less startling than they are elsewhere. We have nothing, for example, which can compare for a moment with the Canterbury orthography; I consider that I lay the reader under an obligation by giving him a few specimens of what the Overseers “Dispurst for the Eas of the pore”—their “Dis Bustments,” as they call them in another place—or, as it stands in the Luxulyan Account Book, “For the Rising of ther Despusments.”

how so many of them have escaped destruction. The Canterbury accounts, for example, had been thrust into a sack—although they had two parish chests—which sack (a confused mass of papers) had been stowed away, high up in the tower of the Church.

¹ *Our Parish Books*, p. 10.

"Kiping of ms. dowering gierell [girl], 3 weeckes.

When wee met at the Cooke [Cock, an inn much beloved of the Churchwardens] to see the ould over seres accountes.

For bere [beer, not bier] when thay laid her forth.¹

For a nicke of motton.

For a coofon for Goodeye King.

For a soupinee [*subpana*].

Elizth Dingley for to by her cild to shifts.

Lett the woman to by him vitals.

3 Blanck Sir Tifcats.

St. Dunstan's Clarck for Nell and grave and Min Nester's fees.

Payed a garle for a payer of secind hand shose.

Caring Mary Joans to Cumberfols and Hauain har wipt.

Goning to the Gutis [going to the Justice] with a French humen [woman].

For Ringing for King Geore in ter session [accession].

" " one King George Croune-Asyone.

" " one ye prinse of Whale Bethday."

Similarly, in the Canterbury Churchwardens' Accounts we find, "Sothering the tankers" (for "soldering the tankards"); "Procklamation a Gainst Profaness"; "dafter" for daughter (this is very common); "rops" and "roapes" for ropes; "Buring cloath"; "Bell roaps and put in them oup"; "plomer" (for plumber)—*they* "treated the plumber" in those days; we rather feel as if he ought to treat us, but perhaps he had soldered down some plague patient—and so forth; they designate these items "Dis Bors Ments." *Our* spelling is antique, but that is the worst that can be said of it—vulgar it certainly is not. The FIRST page reveals that the "p'jshe" had land at Lane End,² let at the amazing rental of 2s. *per*

¹ Probably she had died of some infectious disease.

² "Lane End" is in one place defined as "Killane End." The parish also possessed some little property at "Polkey" and Holmbush—this latter comprised a garden; in 1690 we are told that "Holmbush with the gardens" was "unsett." Treverbyn Mill also appertained to the parishioners.

annum, and several sums of money—one of £100—invested at six per cent. In later years we find sums of parochial money in the hands of Jos. Sawle, Esq., Mr. Moyle, John Daddow (who paid his interest quarterly), Richard Scoble, gent., John Allen, John Band, Wm. Slade, Thos. Baker, etc., etc. Mention is also made of the interest on £20 “given by Mr. Carlyon to the poor.” These sums often changed hands—St. Austell had not four Banks then. The SECOND page records payments of 10s. to John Killigarne “for 3 foxes heades” and 6s. “for vermin’s heades.” Similar entries are not unfrequently found later on; thus in 1679 there are several payments “for ffitches heads.”¹ Elsewhere we read, “Pd. the Hunters for killing a wild Catt . . . 03. 00”; on one occasion no less than £5 : 14 was paid “for ffoxes and vermin,” and in 1726 £8 : 18 : 8 “for Catchers of divers sorts.” This, however, was quite an exception. In 1678, 15s. were paid “to severall p’sons for ffitches and ffoxes and kites heades”; the next year Nicholas Marten had 5s. “for 2 ffoxes and ii ffitches”; in ’85, 2s. were bestowed “for ii ffitches heads and 2 cats heads”; in ’87, Samuel Bennett had 10s. for fitches’, cats’ and kites heads, and so forth.² In 1742, 5s. was paid for each fox and 10s. for

¹ The “fitchet,” according to Skeats, *Etymolog. Dict.*, p. 209, is the polecat, and the name refers to the smell. Three polecats, for which 1s. was paid, figure in the Churchwardens’ Accounts of St. Martin in Meneage, for 1783-4.

² At Loughborough, in 1622, Clement Gibson received ijd. “for killing a mould in the churchyard”; at St. Martin in Meneage (in 1786), 2s. 6d. was paid for “an ould fox,” and 4s. for “two half-grown foxes”; and a fox fetched the same sum at Gunwalloe (*Journal of Roy. Inst. of Cornwall*, Part x., pp. 87-8). At Lanreath, 10s. was paid for two foxes in 1803, and 4d. for a fitch in 1797-8. In the St. Columb “Green Book” we often read of “Vermos” or “Vermos heades.” The money was sometimes paid *in Church*! A shilling was paid “ffor a ffox’s head” in 1704. At Landewednack, in 1756, 4d. was paid for “two heage hogs,” and in 1798 1s. for a badger; 6d. “for a fitchet”; 1s. for an “oater” (otter), and 5s. for two foxes (*Week at the Lizard*, p. 47). At Wenhamston, Suffolk (and doubtless elsewhere), considerable sums were paid for killing *sparrows*. But there they only paid 1s. apiece for foxes. In the Ludlow Accounts (in 1569) are such entries as these: “for ij dozen of myse heades . . . ijd.”; “for iiij dozen of myse heades

"1 fox big wth young, killed by Mr. Sawle's hounds and Mr. Carlyon's." The THIRD page it may be interesting to give at length as a sample—it concerns the

MARKETS AND FAIRS.

"ST. AUSTELL } An accounte of the marketts and faires of the p'ishe
PARRISHE. } aforesaid given unto Joseph Sawle Esq^r. and the rest
of the 12 men of the said p'ishe the 24th daye of
Aprill, 1671.

	lb.	s.	d.
Paid to the Collectors for the poore	23	10	00
Pd Mr. Growden for 30 dell bords	01	18	00
pd. Hunnywill ¹ for a half year's wages ended the 29 th Sep- tember 1670	02	00	00
pd. William Chalke for 1 q ^r . wages	01	00	00
pd for amending the Markett stuffe	00	01	06
pd. for a new Buckett	00	02	00
pd. for the Kinge's Rent	00	02	00
pd. for Crooks for the butchers	00	00	06
pd for amendinge the markett stuff	00	01	00
pd. Mr. John Maye for 1 q ^r . parte of a month rate	00	03	06
pd. George Elliott for 16 new Tressells	00	03	00
pd. William Howe for a q ^r . pte. of a month's Rate	00	03	06
pd John Treveale for 2 dozen of pooles	00	03	06
pd Peter Lukis for 2 dozen of pooles	00	03	06
pd. Peter Lukis for 2 dozen of pooles and 8 tressells	00	10	00
pd George Elliott for amendinge the Markett stuffe	00	02	06
pd for lent of poles and boards	00	01	06
pd John Treveale for 2 dozen of poles	00	04	00
disbursed	30	06	06

iiijd." ; "for ix crowes heades . . . iijd." ; — for "three young crowes heades," "Mr. Barnabe's sonne" received jd., etc. The Churchwardens record that they have "paid for myse heades" *according to the Statute*. It should be explained that by the Statute 8 Eliz., cap. 15—"An Act for the Preservation of Grain"—the Churchwardens of every parish, with other persons to the number of six, are required to provide for the destruction of "noyfull fowles and vermyn," and varying prices are set upon their "heades." A list of "vermyn" is given in the Act.

¹ I think he was parish clerk. His name is prominent in the Church Registers. Chalke no doubt was sexton.

The Rents of the Marketts and faires the last yeere	
came to _____	53 . 00 . 00
disbursed as above appeareth _____	30 . 06 . 06
yett resteth due to the p'ishe _____	22 13 06
More pd. Samuell Hodge, Churchwarden _____	02 . 15 . 08
More gave Giles Buck 10 ^d and 1s earnest _____	00 . 01 . 10
	02 . 17 . 06
yett rest due to the p'ish _____	19 . 16 . 00
<div style="text-align: center;"> <div style="display: inline-block; width: 100px; text-align: center;"> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; font-size: small;"> ll. sh. </div> </div> </div>	
which said 19 : 16 : was paid in unto the p'ishioners	
the daye and yeere abovesaid."	

This page, which suggests several matters for remark, gives a very fair idea of the main contents of the book ; that is to say, it is occupied for the most part with the annual statements of parochial accounts submitted to the Easter Vestry, and with the various agreements made at that Vestry with the Lessee or Farmer of the

MARKETTS AND FAIRES,

which subject has consequently the first claim on our attention. In 1671 these Marketts were "lett unto William Giles for 1 whole yeere to be ended at Easter Mundaye" at the rent of £50 ; in 1675 the rent was "£70 (seventie pounds of lawfull money of England)" ; by 1698 it had risen to £85 ; in 1699 it dropped to £73 ; in 1724 it was £91, and in 1783 it was £164. Sometimes the farmer was "allowed £5 for repaying the Market Stuff" ; sometimes "the taker to have no allowance, but to rest sattisfied with the materialls delivered to him." In 1690 John Hooper "managed the concernes," and was "allowed for his paines and losses in collecting and managing the Market for the s^d year £07 . 03 : 02." As early as 1675 we have an "Accounte of all the boards, pooles, Trussels and other necessarys belonging unto the Marketts and faires," and

a very modest show it makes. The "Pooles" were 157; "Trussels," 080; "Boardes," 213, "of w^{ch} 26 short boards." So far as appears, this was all their stock-in-trade. By 1713—I take this date almost haphazard—"the Markett stuffe" showed a considerable increase. In addition to "25 new boards provided last yeere" and "17 Trussles wth 3 Leggs each" and "7 more without leggs," we now read of "A new Winchester bushell; a measure conteyning 5 gallons, and a striker; Two Toll dishes wth iron handles; A good brass pint; two small iron stamps¹; A brass Quart to bee d^d him by m^r. Nic^s. Giles" and "18 paires of old boards." In 1738 it is provided (as usual) that the tenant shall "clean the streets of all dung, straw and dirt the next day after ev'ry fair or Market day"; it is here added that "otherwise he is to pay one Shilling for ev'ry such offence to ye sexton, who has liberty to carry it off"—this, I presume, means the dung, not the shilling²—and convert it to his own use. As late as 1819 we find the Lessee of the Markets fined 5s. "for not sweeping the streets of the town on Saturday last"—our streets seem always to have been a discredit to us. In 1720, Major Sawle was paid "for 3,000 stones used about the Markett House the last yeare." In 1737 there is—for us—an unusually illiterate entry—"Wer nominate for Churchwardens, Charles Slade, gent., and Samuel Hendy." The statement found under date of 1741, "Then set ye Prophets of ye Faires," etc., does not refer, as the unwary reader might suppose, to the "twelve men" (of whom more presently) who undoubtedly had the letting of the "concernes," and I daresay were prophets in

¹ In a parchment Inventory (date 1686) of the goods, etc., belonging to the Parish Church of Wenhaston, one item is, "An Iron-brand, being a key wth w^{ch} all Things belonging to ye Towne ought to be mark'd."

² So we gather from an entry in 1714—"Itt shall be lawful for the Saxon . . . to take away and convert such Dung and Soyle to his own use."

their own country, but to the yearly gain. It may be as well before we quit the subject to show what was generally done with this Market "prophet." Let us take the year 1699, when the rent was "threescore and thirteene pounds." This is the account passed "the first day of Aprill, 1700."

	lb.	s.	d.
Payd. the overseers of the Poor	25	00	00
Pd. Sam. Higman the County Stock : Rate	00	10	10
Pd. the Great Rate	03	04	6
Pd. Ric. Roscorlia, Constble, for bridge rates	02	19	6
Pd. Lawrence Broakensheere for mending ye highwayes	00	05	0
Left the Count day to pay, w ^{ch} was charged on Jo. Vivyan	00	02	6
Left out by the Churchwarden order when the L ^d . Bpp. was att Penrise ¹	00	06	0
Pd. Sampson Eastlake, the Clark	04	00	0
Pd. W ^m . Giles y ^e Sexon	04	00	0
Pd. for 4 Bell Roapes	01	05	0
Pd. Tho: Manning ye Glazier	03	00	0
Pd. John Ward Constable for the County Stock	00	10	10
Left to pay by Marke Higman att the makeing the Great Rate	00	04	0
Left out to the Ringers the 5 of Nouember	00	10	0
Pd. Humphery Cleeve for Repaering ye Church	05	12	0
Pd. Petter Pearce ye Reve for the King's Rent	00	02	0
Pd. Mr. John Sawle for mending Bodman Highwayes	00	10	0
Pd. for mending the Pentices [penthouses] and Markett house planching	02	02	4
Left out more to Churchwardens for 3 dell Boards and 3 planks	00	05	6
allowd for the Stuff	05	00	6
	59	10	6
Pd. afterwards to mr. Henry Hawkins for Rent due to Mr. Growden for the Markett plott	05	00	0
more pd. to the Churchwardens in full of yr acct	04	13	4
Pd. to Wm. Nicholas, Churchwarden ye last year	00	07	6

¹ There is a curious entry in the "Counte boke of the hye cross Wardenys" of Stratton, in 1512—"Paid for a gallon of wyne to Give my lord boshopp, ijd." Nor was his lordship alone regaled. Presently we read, "Payd for bred and drynk to the ryngers to renga a gens my lord boshopp, ijd."

Distributed to severall poore people the Count day———	02 : 11 : 2
P ^d . for a bottle of brandy at the setting of y ^e Markett ——	00 : 03 : 0
Gave Merdith Williams, his house beeing lately burnt ——	00 : 15 : 0
In full for ye Markett	73 : 00 : 0

To some of these items—the bottle of brandy, for example—I shall recur later on. But I prefer to dispose of the markets before I descend to any such festive details. I will therefore add that our second Parish Book (which begins with 1744) contains a resolution, passed in 1760, “That no Market be held on Good Friday next year”—the barbarians would seem to have formerly held one on that day; another (in 1836), “That the Market House be taken down,” after one in 1834 that “Thanks be given to Mr. Sawle for his unparalleled generosity in giving up his claim to the Market Tolls hitherto received by him and his Tenants, and for the offer of a site for the new market.” In 1839, the new Vicar, the Rev. Fortescue Todd, in the chair, it was resolved, “That £110 be allowed out of the Tolls of the Markets and Fairs for the use and benefit of the Church for the year ensuing,” which must have been most gratifying to the new incumbent—new brooms do sweep clean. A sum of £90 was also allowed to the Churchwardens in 1840, and £100 in 1841—both from the tolls of the markets. But then these contributions cease. Can it be that the Vicar had already worn out his welcome? The Cornish are said to be fond of fresh faces, and it is often remarked with respect to our Methodist preachers who change their circuits every two or three years that they “are angels the first year, men the second, and devils the third.” There was a precedent for these grants, for in 1814 £20 *per annum* was voted from the rates, to be paid for the singing, “which of late is very much improved.” It was to be paid over to Hy. Lakes, Esq. From the markets let us pass to

THE TWELVE MEN

who managed them. Under date of April 8th, 1672, we read: "This day Thomas Carne, gent., was elected and chosen by the generall consent of those of the twelve men that were now present to be one of their society," and similar entries appear constantly. At a later date the twelve are called the "Principals" of the parish; in 1741 they are described as "the *principal inhabitances*."¹ A similar council was of course found in other towns and villages—in Tavistock they were eight in number (the two Churchwardens were sometimes joined to them); so they were at Stratton; at St. Columb it endures for certain purposes unto this day. At Ipswich, in 1200, it was "ordered that twelve Portmen shall be elected as in other ffree townes of England," and "fower men were elected and sworne to elect Portmen out of the better rank."² At St. Columb the duties of the Twelve must have been somewhat multifarious, for it seems that "sheepe" were lent at 7d. *per annum* each, the farmer taking the increase and the wool. The parish also possessed a ladder and a carriage, each of which was lent on hire.³ Here then we have a survival of that local self-government which is popularly believed to have been granted by the Crown—some have even ascribed its beginnings to the recent Act establishing Parish Councils!—but which is really older than many of the sovereign rights and present-day prerogatives of our monarchs.⁴ The "twelve men" really

¹ A footnote gives the following "Memerandam": "Mr. Hugh Hewet is chosen one of ye *principle Inhabitantes*." ² Bacon, *Annals of Ipswich*, p. 7.

³ We read (about 1593), "The organ do conteyne xv pipes." There are also references to the "trayned soldiers" prepared to fight the Spanish Armada. Here too people were buried at half-price when there was no coffin.

⁴ "The central authority has been built up by taking to itself, one by one, all the powers which originally belonged to the local authorities. The process has been a long one, and very insidious. . . . The Norman Conquest marks very strongly the age of this surrender." Gomme, *Literature of Local Institutions*, p. 2.

represent the old hundred assembly; it was a sort of "committee of twelve members to transact the judicial business of the court."¹ The duties of our Twelve men were also very various; in '87, *e.g.*, "John Carne laid out by the gents. order to John Crowle for the clock, 5s." Then they paid large money for maintaining roads and repairing bridges all over the county—at Bodmin, Hessenford, Looe, Penpont, St. Erth, etc.; "ffor the cutting of the cloth" for the poor they paid 1s., and a like sum "ffor a warrant to call forth the old overseers." One year they gave Mathew Woone "for warning of severall p'sons to Court," 2s.; another they paid Degory Mathew for crying ye faire, 1s.—and so forth. In 1727 seven "of the number of the twelve of the said parish," viz., Jos. Sawle, Hen. Hawkins, Edmond Carthew, Tho. Hext, Jn^o. Carthew, John Harper (who made his mark), and John Hodge, record that they "have observed great increase in the disbursements of the late Overseers² for Lynnen and Wollen Cloth," and give notice "That wee, and our successors, the Number of the Twelve, being the principall Inhabitants of the said parish . . . will provide and supply the occasions of such persons as are and shall become chargeable to the said parish." This change was greatly conducive to economy, for whereas the "lynnen and wollen" of the preceding year cost £41 : 4 : 4, in 1728 these worthies had reduced it to £14 : 2 : 8. In 1743 these same "principals" are empowered to "give leave to any person they think Proper to keep School in ye Markett House and reserves leave for workmen about ye Workhouse to work therein [*i.e.*, obviously in the Market House, *not* the Workhouse] and to lodge timber and deals

¹ Gomme, p. 54.

² At Holy Cross, Westgate, Canterbury, between 1643 and 1651, the cost of maintaining the poor increased fourfold. *Our Parish Records*, p. 21.

there." Vacancies in the number of the twelve were filled up by co-option, *i.e.*, by the free choice of the survivors. At a later period the twelve managed the Workhouse, in addition to their other duties—our second Parish Account Book is entitled, "A Book of Orders and Resolutions of the Principall Inhabitants for the better management and government of the Workhouse," and on July 30th, 1744, it was resolved "that every Principall Inhabitant . . . under the denomination of a *twelve-man* shall be an acting Manager and Trustee." It would almost seem from an entry in 1745 that Churchwardens and Overseers were chosen from this body. On one occasion, at least, the twelve somewhat exceeded their powers, for in 1747 they directed "that no person presume to ring or chime the bells without the permission of Richard Williams, one of the Churchwardens, in whose custody the key is now kept."¹ Their powers appear to have lasted until 1819, when the twelve gave place to the select Vestry—we then have the first of the annual lists which were submitted to a Justice of the Peace. It will be observed that one item is a "qr. p^{te} of a month's Rate," which may well introduce the subject of

RATES.

The way in which the necessary expenses of the Poor and of the Parish—and, I must add, of the Church—were raised, is at first somewhat bewildering : we read with amazement at one time (1745) of "*six* rates for the Releife of the Poor at Michās next"; then in '59 of *twelve* rates, for Poor and Church ; the next year of "*six* Poor Rates and two Church Rates."² By '67 we have mounted up to fourteen rates, by

¹ In 1811 we find the key lodged with the Vicar, and no one is to ring without *his* permission.

² In 1723-4 there were *twelve* rates, realizing £191. The next year there were *thirty*, which brought in £470. This rapid increase was due to the "casting of 6 Bells," etc.

the next year to twenty, by 1800 to twenty-eight, by 1801 to *forty*, and by 1802 to *fifty* ! The thing goes on by leaps and bounds ; we feel as if this will never do ; it must be checked. The explanation is—I do not know that I can express it better than by quoting a sentence from the Luxulyan Book, which, after giving a list of ratepayers and the various amounts at which they were assessed, adds that such rate “is to be collected *as often as need shall requier* for the Rising of ther Despusments.” This appears to have been the antient plan. Sometimes a rate or “sesse” was made to cover three months or four months ; at other times, as in our case, they multiplied each man’s registered proportionate payment according to the parochial needs. When Mr. Robt. May had received his 7s. (in 1679) “for writing the rates,” and A, B, and C had been assessed, let us say, at 1s., 2s., and 3s. respectively, all that was needed was to multiply these amounts by 12, or 20, or 50, according to the sum required to be raised.

And another thing that we observe with respect to the rates is that the authorities were much more genial and complaisant in their collection (or remission) than are their hard-hearted successors of to-day. We are constantly reading of remissions. Parson Hewgoe especially had parts of his rate “respited”—£1 15s. in 1703—in 1738, 15s. was, “by consent, allowed to him *by courtesy*”—no doubt, on account of *Church Rates*, on the principle of not “robbing Peter to pay Paul.”¹ Similarly, “the proprietors of the Sheaf”—that is, of the Rectorial

This sum, large as it was, had to be supplemented by £29 7s., in Subscriptions. Of this amount, however, 10s. 6d. promised by Mrs. Joane Giles, 5s. by Richd. Halls, and 1s. by John Mannell, were never paid.

¹ At Canterbury it was resolved (25 April, 1698) “That the minister be excused from Payeing ani Thinge to the Poore of the above Said parish, he buriing and Baptizing the Poore Gratiuous.” In 1667 he had begun to charge for attending funerals, which, thirty years later, led to the dispute thus compromised. (Meadows Cowper.)

tithes—were abated 13s. 4d., “one rate.” So was the tenant of Menacuddle excused something, and he of Treverbryn Mill—all these entries are of frequent occurrence—these properties being tithe free. So elsewhere were my Lord Mohun and Mr. Maye—the lay rectors, as I suppose—“being not lyable to repayr the Church.”¹ In 1703 Loveday Julyan’s rate of 1s. 4d. was abated, she “beeing poore.” Yet the temper of those days was distinctly less benevolent than it is now—Meadows Cowper tells us that “daughters did not look after their own mothers without payment,” so that probably the Overseers did not take precisely what they could not get. Thus, Mr. John Carthew’s rate (£1 : 1 : 4) was written off, he “beeing not supposed to have any p’sonall effects,” though he would appear to have been one of the “twelve men.” In 1684, £2 : 16 : 0 was “allowed for severall poor people who are rated and not able to pay”; in ’86, £3 : 1 : 3 was “allowed of the rate charg^d uppon poor people”; in ’73, as the parish had £7 : 1 : 8½ in hand, the Overseers had “craved for the poore people that are unable to pay, £1 : 10”; in ’86, as the balance was only 2s. 2d., it was *all* “given a way to poor people.” In 1708, the “ballance,” £002 : 6 : 5, was “ordered to bee p^d to Mr. Ste. W^{ms} (“Doctor Williams”? see p. 91) in Refference to Geo. Davey’s Illness.” In 1818, on a new valuation of the parish, Mr. Smyth, the then Vicar, compounded his Poor Rates for an annual payment of £50, “on condition that the small tithes do not exceed 1s. 3d. in the Pound”—since that day the Vicar’s rates have amounted, at times, to £100 *per annum*. A proposition made the same year that “all Methodist and Dissenting Chapels be excused

¹ In 1689 we read, “Allowed for the whole tithe sheaf to the *Lady Harris* and Mr. John May, £1.” In ’83 it is, “Allowed for the sheaf *and Menacuddle*,” and this item is mixed up with some allowances to the poor.

payment of Rates" created a considerable storm, and led to an appeal to the Justices, who referred the complainants to another Vestry Meeting—how it was finally settled, it is needless to say. And—also in the same year—Mr. Elias Martyn was appointed "a General Agent to collect all the Rates, pay all the Poor, and make out the Rates," to which he was to devote all his time at a salary of £80 *per annum*.

But this brings us to a very copious subject (also suggested by page 3),

THE RELIEF OF THE POOR—

copious because it included orders and regulations respecting settlement in the parish, aid afforded at birth, cases of illegitimacy, clothing, education, apprenticing, doctoring, and interment, and it may be convenient if, as far as is practicable, I classify the various entries under these heads; I will also adhere, as far as possible, to the order of time.¹ On page 6,

¹ In the "Counte boke" of Stratton we have an entry as far back as 1532 concerning the relief of the poor, for in that year vs. was set apart "for the bedreden," whilst xxd. was paid "to make racchytes for the chylder"—observe the old form of children (still in use in the North of England). Similarly, in 1547, we read, "Paid to poremenn for the comondement of the viii men, 1s." These accounts are full of interest; I jot down some few particulars here. The "prieste's wages" in 1519 were 13s. 4d.—in 1513 he only received xs. In 1562, 4d. was "paid to a mynyster to help play and syng." For "frankencens" was paid the same year ijd.; for "the Church dore kay" (in 1512), 1d.; for a truss of rushes (for strewing on the floor of the Church), ijd.—in 1541 John maior received "for a trusse of rushes agenst Mr. Arundell ys dafter was marryed iiijd."; in '25, "for mendyng of the prieste's chamber" 2s. was paid; and about the same time Johanne morton received "for mendyng of ij surples 1d.," and ijd. was paid "for schering the Church hagg" [hedge]. In '32 a man was paid xvjd. "for seying to the belles by the yere." For the use of the "Church House" some "players" paid 1d. in '39—on another occasion Jews or gipsies were lodged there; in '42 "a ladder for the clock" cost 3d., and "a chayne for the bybill" iiijd. *ob* (i.e., 3½d.); in '70, 4d. was paid "for mending of John Jude's bybell which he lonyd to the Church when the other was bynd." For a communion cup—of pewter, as the weight was iij pounds—xixs. was paid; vjs. for "a newe communion bocke and a Psalter in the same," and iiijd. "for a sawser to put the communion bred in." In '62, xijd. was paid "for 200 of howsselen bread," which shows that wafers were still used in this Church; in '61, 3s. were set apart "for bread and wyne a gainst ester." In '38, the wardens received "of Robyn hode and of his men—probably a company of strolling or woodland players—£3 : 0 : 10," and so forth.

then, we have what we may reasonably regard as a list of the poorest families in the parish, but as it is incidentally supplied, in connection with fines levied on the Quakers, I reserve it for further mention later on.¹ The first disbursements to the poor I find in 1675—

"Given unto Tregennow's boy _____ 00 : 00 : 10

Given unto William Morr's wife _____ 06 : 06 "

William Abram also received sixpence in that year. "Tregennoe's sonne" received a further advance of 01s. 06d. in '76, and "Harris *als.* Blew, 4s." The Tregennows make a fair show in the book—much more than many decent honest people—*e.g.*, in this year the Overseer paid to Mr. Tremayne—probably the new Vicar—16s. "for Tregennow's rent." In '79 he "gave to Charity Clemense a poore widdow," 1s. 8d.—in '82 she was apparently in a better way, for she received 4s. "for keeping Rich. Hobba's child"—these and similar sums were bestowed quite apart from the allowances made "upon the account day"; in '81, for example, the Overseers "Disbursed for the charges of the poore the yeare last past, £92 : 2 : 7"; and in '83 they "pd for cloath distributed among the poor at Christmas and at other times, £12 : 16 : 7"; in '89, "at the severall pay dayes and for cloath, both of Linnen and Woollen," they expended £93 : 13 : 10. Sometimes the recipients are not named—thus, "To a poore maid of the p'ish, 1s.,"² followed by, "Given away, 00 : 00 : 01." It would be interesting to know who received this substantial sum, and what he did with it. So minute a record I have not found elsewhere, save in the Canterbury Accounts, where the Overseers paid 1d. "for cutting peche's haire."³ In '75 we find this item in our book,

¹ Page 98.

² At Canterbury, 1s. was given to "a Por humen" and the same "to a poor woman in the hog-sty."

³ They also gave a man 2d. to go out of the parish, whereas "a great belyed woman" received 2s. for the same purpose. No doubt this was to obviate the expenses attendant

"Paid Croll [Crowle] for lent of a horse about ye p'ish business, 2s.," but I could not swear that this was connected with any branch of poor relief. At Stratton, in 1564, xxjd. was "paid to Nicolas bond for lone of his horse when mr. marris and John Jud rode to Exeter"—no doubt on parish business, and probably to attend the Assizes, or to interview the Lord "Boshopp." In 1701 the sum of 3s. 10d. was paid at St. Austell "for 5 horse journeys for bringing tymber for Repayre of the Church and 2 Journeys for A man." At St. Martin in Meneage, however, in 1776-7, we find 2s. paid for horses employed in the pursuit and forcible marriage of Walter Johns,¹ and at Canterbury, a record of 4d. having been paid "for a warrant for the wenche that left her child in the parish," 2s. was "pd for a horse to ride after her," and 6d. "to a woman for keeping the child till hee [she ?] was brought back agayne." In the same Canterbury Accounts, we find Adam Williamson bribed with the sum of 7s. 6d.

on her accouchement, and perhaps this was why they gave 1s. 6d. to "a way-going woman y^t was bige with child." Probably, they had then, as now, more tramps than we have. At Wenhaston, 1s. was expended "in getting rid of 6 Frenchmen w^{ch} came into street." When every parish paid for its own poor, they were naturally much afraid of paupers settling therein.

¹ It may be worth while to put down the different items connected with this matrimonial incident, which has been unearthed by the Rev. S. Rundle. Johns had fled to Breage, apparently with the lady of his choice. He was pursued, overtaken, and put through the ceremony. Let us hope that it consoled him to find that the wedding festivities included the discharge of artillery and much feasting at the parish expense.

"To arresting, marreing Walter Johns }	
To three days under arrest	I . 10 . II
To licians [license]	I 16 0
To expenses and Turnpike ; fatching them at Breag.	2 : 0
To 2 horses	2 : 0
To the minister for marreing them	10 . 6
To the Clerk	5 . 0
To meat drink and firing to the wedding	I . 13 . "

(*Journal, R. Inst. Cornw.* x. 87.)

"for to get married to ye Widdow Wimark."¹ The "expenses about them" amounted to 2s., which, compared with the St. Martin's charges set forth in the note below, was reasonable to a degree. But then 12s. 6d. is charged for "going after Hester Brockman to prevent her marriage"—one would think she was an heiress. In 1702 our Overseers had £18 in hand at Easter—"of w^{ch} the gent^s thought fit to distribute amongst divers poore people £02"—in addition to the "7 rates for the poore," which had yielded £112 : 5 : 4½. We also hear, especially in the earlier years, of "the poor man's box"—probably that in the Church, as ordered by the Canon. In 1671 it yielded 14s.; in '72, 8s. 9d.; in '73, 9s.; and so forth. Out of this some of the charities above-named were given. In '83, for example, it was opened soon after Easter, and its contents were forthwith given to the poor, whose names are specified. It was not *all* paying out to the poor, however; sometimes the Overseers acknowledge small sums that they have received, in the shape of moneys accruing from the sale of the chattels of deceased paupers. Thus, in 1699, Hoba's goods realized £2 : 16 : 6, and in 1700 they "Rec^d for Ann Hodge's Goods, 19s." Such entries are found all over England.² In 1675 we find the first entry respecting the

¹ There are many such marriages recorded in the old Account Books. At Wenhashton, *e.g.*, Mr. Banks was paid 6s. in 1761 "for marrying H. Hall"; in '64, the "taking of Richard Brown and marrying him" cost £4 : 9 : 4, and a similar capture and dispatch of Daniel Tovell £3 : 14 : 11. "Parishes actually bribed people in adjacent parishes to relieve them by marriage of paupers generally, but especially of paupers with large families," thus "shifting the burden on to other shoulders." *Wenhashton*, p. 19. When men were married *perforce*, it was doubtless because there was a solid reason why they should marry.

² The Canterbury Records, *e.g.*, so often referred to, contain an "Account of the goods which blind Jane hath in her house"—this was during her lifetime; also "the a prasell of goode Lanke Sher [Goody Lancashire's] goods"—"one bed stedell, with mat and cords," etc.; they give a list, too, of Widdow Prees's effects. The Wenhashton Accounts contain many such inventories.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

of the St. Austell youth—

“ Pd. Mr. Slade for the schoolemaster 05 . 00 . 00 ”

From a later entry—

“ Pd. to the Schoolemaster for teaching three poore
schollers 03 : 00 : 00 ”

It would almost seem as if this good pedagogue had so much
per head. The entries respecting

APPRENTICESHIPS

are much more numerous. The first of these, found on the
SIXTH page, and referring to the year 1671, I cite at length—

“ Memorand. This acct day the overseers brought in indentures
for placing apprentices those severall poore children hereafter
named, viz. :—

Sam^l. the sonne of Phillip Willeton, bound to Jos. Sawle Esq^r.

W^m. sonne of Ph. Abram, dec^d, to Mr. Moyle.

Johane Rawne to Mr. Josias Vivian.

Francis May to Mrs. Menhire.

Thomas Tockell al^s [alias] Julian to W^m. Rawett.

W^m. Mishell to Mr. John May.

Alexander Allen to John Bouett of Carvath.

Pentecost Abram to Rob^t. Thomas.

florencie Allen to John Cusgarne.”

The Abrams and Allens were no doubt brother and sister
respectively. One wonders how they fared under their different
masters, and whether they saw much of each other, or cared to
see. It is plain that these pauper children were not popular;
the poor seldom are. Elsewhere, in 1708, we find this entry—

“ Charges relating to one of the poore children when
hee was refused by his first intended master— 00 : 02 : 01 ”

and there is record more than once of parishioners paying

£5 : 5 : 0, a substantial sum at that period, to be *excused* taking a parish apprentice. In 1818 it was resolved "that no one be allowed to *choose* a parish apprentice." Our Overseers (in 1708) paid 6s. 8d., that time-honoured fee, for the indentures of "2 Poore children," but then they only gave £2 with the two; in fact, £1 was the almost invariable sum here paid with an apprentice.¹ What they paid for the *board* and *lodging* of pauper children it is impossible to estimate aright; two of Tho. Dallen's children were maintained for 13s. 6d.—this was in 1689—and in 1710 John Roseveare received £1 "with a poore child," but we cannot say for how long, and the same remark applies to Joan Marshall, who in 1690 was paid 5s. "for takeing of a poor child," and to "Sam Hatches Bastard," towards whose support the twelve advanced £1 : 10 : 0, in '98.² Nor can we, for want of details, compare the cost of clothing. In 1683 they gave Charity Clements—this time out of "the poore man's box"—4s., for "cloathes for Barnok fford's child," but as a rule they appear to have bought their "Wooling and Lynnen" wholesale, and to have doled it out as necessity required. Thus, in 1692, there is a charge of £10 : 4 : 3 "To Wooling for the poor," and a further sum of £12 : 11 : 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ for "lynnen," whilst in '98, £2 : 3 : 9 was paid "For Flannings for shrouding for ye Poor," and £8 : 9 : 2 for "Linnig given to the Poor"—but that is all. In 1764 it was "ordered that Widow Esterbrook have a cloth

¹ At Canterbury, in 1664, £2 was paid with an apprentice, as when "Cocks his boy" was apprenticed to his brother; 2s. were also paid for the indentures and 2s. "for a payer of shoes for him"; also sixpence was "laid outt for oyntment" (at Wenhaston, in '72, Goody Buxton had 2s. for making "liniment") for the same youth, for whose board 3s. a month had for some time been paid; then later, as his appetite increased, 6s. per month (to "Gudewife Hodgman"). The "kiping of ms. downeing gierell [girl] 3 weekes" cost 5s.

² At Wenhaston, about 1716, the usual inclusive charge for a pauper's board, lodging, apparel and washing was about 1s. 7d. per week.

coat and a shift"; that "Widow Warrick have two shifts for her daughters, two cloth coats, and no more for this year" (it looks as if these young wenches had been importunate or extravagant), and Widow Hodge "a pair of shoes," but nothing is said as to their respective cost. In 1747 it was decided that "the Price of Linnen for the Poor is not to exceed 8½d. per yard," and that "the price of wollen cloth, comonly called Cape cloth, for the Poor, is not to exceed 1s. 6d. per yard,"¹ but we have no further details. A "shovel for the Bedman"² cost 1s. 7d., in 1696; a hatchet (in '99) cost 1s.; a "lock and kay for ye new Market house," 1s. 2d.; the same "for the Quire," 6d.; "four bell roapes," £1 5s.; lead cost 1d. per lb.; "Sooder" (they used up 365 lbs. of this in '99!), 10d. per lb.; a shroud for Mellin's widow, 5s. 6d.—other "charges for burying her" amounted to 5s.—and in 1716, John Crapp received 7s. for making a coffin; but these, with the 2s. paid for "a new Buckett," in 1690, and 1s. 4d., the cost of "making Zenobia Quick's cloaths,"³ are about all the prices I can cite.⁴

¹ At Wenboston, in 1735, a texture called *Fearnthing* was bought at 1s. 8d. per yard.

² The sexton. This is clear from other entries. "Wm. Giles the Bedman" is elsewhere called "Wm. Gilles the sexon," and in 1693 we read, "To Wm. Giles the Bedman for his attendance on the Church work, £1. 16." This was additional to his salary of £4 and to 10s. "for keeping the clock." The Rev. W. Iago, of Bodmin, who has, with great kindness, given me information on many points of archæology, whilst allowing that he cannot gather this meaning from most of the standard dictionaries, appeals to Richards's (1861) and Williams's (1865) works. There is no doubt that *Bedh* or *Beth* is Celtic for "grave," as may be seen in the name "Bethgellert"—grave of Gellert—still I cannot find "Bedman" either in Skeat's or Murray's Dictionaries.

³ At Luxulyan, "making Ann Topper's gown" cost 6d.; John Nicholl's shroud, 2s. 11d., and Elizth. Petherick was paid 4s. for "washing John Crip's Linen"—this was in 1763-71.

⁴ The Canterbury records, on the contrary, are full of details; one might almost compile a price list of that period from them. For example: a winding sheet cost from 2s. 8d. to 4s. 3d. (in 1649); a boy's pair of shoes, 1s. 6d. to 2s.; a "paire of hooose," 8d. to 1s. 6d., according to the size of the child; "a pair of hooose and a pair of breeches for the parish child," 3s. 2d.; a coffin, 4s. 6d.; a "reage" (ridge) coffin, 8s.; a "shurt," 2s.; a "Loyne of Mutten for Goodwife Bullock," 9d.; a "nicke of motton," 7d. to 10d.; four new bell ropes, 16s. 6d.; a "funt roope," for suspending the font cover, 2s. 6d.;

The next items of poor relief to be noticed have to do with the

DOCTOR

Here are some of the entries ; the first goes back to 1688—

"Pd. Dr. Dyer for curing of John Robins, 6s."

Then we have, among others—

" 1691 Pd. Dr. Holloway for cureing severall poor people—	01	00	. 00
Pd. Dr. Holloway for curing the Wid. Davy of a dislocation —————	02	: 10	: 0
Pd. Doctor Williams in part of his labour and charges about Jane Cornish (hee must have a guinea more) —————	06	: 15	: 2½
More to him in order to cure Jane Cornish of a late scald shee rec ^d and under which shee now labours —————	01	: 01	: 0
Doctor Williams for cureing the poore ————	06	: 09	: 0 ¹
To Doctor Williams for curing Vercoe ————	01	: 00	: 00
More allowed for curing Mary Devonsheer's legg—	15	. 00	²
More allowed them a bill for Phissick for Mark Hydon's family —————	09	: 00	
To be pd. to Doctor Williams for cureing Thomas Hobbs and in full of all his former arrears of dem ^{ds} ³ —————	10	. 15	. 0 ¹

"a paire of Stilts for the Tanner," 3d.—I should have thought the tanner might have paid this himself, and not have come upon the parish for it; half a pound of wool—probably for "socking"—1s. 2d.; for "a peticoat for Blanchett's girl," 5s.; for a "wast-coat and bodies for her," 1s. (at Wenhaston, "a pair of upper bodies" cost 8d., in '53; "a pound of Raysons," 4d., and 1 lb. of hog's suet the same); for 9 yards of lace and silk, for a petticoat—what were the Overseers doing to pay for this finery? and this at the very time when "Blanchett's girl's Legg" was costing the parish a pretty penny—1s. 8d.; for "to [two] shifts," 2s.; for "black cloath to lay upon the cofen," 1s.; for "8 bushells of lime," 3s. 4d.; a gallon of wine for the Easter Communion cost 12s. At Loughborough, in 1586, "a gaune of Aale" cost vijd.; a surplice (in 1634), £2. 9. 8; "for washing of the surplusse" was paid in '22, xijd.; "a shovell" (in '82) cost 1s. 3d.—and so forth.

¹ It appears from an entry in 1712 that this was the sum agreed on "for labour and medicines administered to the poor." In '15 it is called "Doctor Williams Sallary." At Wenhaston, in '32, only £2 *per annum* was paid, and only £2 2s. in '49. No doubt the population there was small.

² At St. Columb, "Cissly Grosse's legge" was cured for 10s.

³ The "guinea more"?

In 1713, "the ffarmer was ordered to pay unto Dr. Williams £5 : 7 : 6 for his care and payns about John May." In 1719 there was paid "to Doctor Livingstone"—Williams did not have it all his own way—£12 12s. "for his Labor and charges about John Hobba's *late* wife *since deceased*, who were very poor." The doctors certainly knew how to charge then, as it is whispered they do now. This Williams was a regular cormorant; I cannot understand his being in arrear with his *demands*! And he was an indifferent paymaster: in 1715 we read, "Rec^d of Doctor Williams for Interm^t of his child in the Church 2 *yeares since*, 3s. 4d." Sometimes, however, a woman—the *sage femme* of the place, or perhaps even a charmer—was employed, whose charges were extremely reasonable. Thus in 1709—

"To Mary Collins for cureing Joane ffrancis 10 : 00"

It is also to be remembered that for the most part the payments were *for cures*¹; if there was no cure, there was no pay, especially when the practitioner was of the weaker sex. In the Canterbury accounts we read—

"To Eliz. Burden, *alias* young, for curing John Creepes [!]

head 1 : 1 : 0

By cash returned by Mrs. Burden for not curing Creppees

head 1 : 1 : 0"

At Luxulyan, if one doctor did not succeed, the parish tried another. In 1775, Dr. Treweek received "for medicines for Eastbrook," £1, and soon after we read, "More to Dr. Lamb for the same person—3s."; at St. Austell, in 1720, two doctors shared the fees between them. Those fees amounted to

¹ This was apparently the general rule. At Wenboston, in 1651, £1 was "paid to the Surgion who *heald* Margaret Anthony." In 1707, however, £1 : 10 : 0 was paid "for chyrurgery to John Edwards," and in 1711, £7 : 9 : 9½ over a single smallpox case irrespective of results. An annual stipend of £2—see above—could not cover such cases of inordinate sickness.

£6 15s., "for cureing of Jane Cornish and Loveday Coombe of some Distempers, beeing poore persons."¹ Sometimes the Doctor's bill, or a part of it, was paid to the *patient*. In 1708 we find 10s. allowed to "Jos. Baring, a poore man, tow^d. the charge of cureing his hand"; sometimes—see p. 91—the bill was paid by "the ffarmer" or lessee of the markets.

The next page in the book is occupied with the

"CHURCHWARDENS ACCT^r FOR THE YEARE 1670.

St. Austell Parish	Samuell Hodge and Thomas Hodge	Churchwardens.		
24 ^o Aprill	These accountants doe charge themselves			
1671	with monye received of the p'she Markett	lb.	s.	d.
	mony	02	15	08
	More rec ^d of John Kannilyan [?] for Mr. ffrancis Robins			
	and his daughter Jone's burials	00	06	08
	For 1 buriall For Jane Luggier	00	03	04
	For Mr. John Moyle	00	03	04
	For Mr. John Hodge and Temperance his wife	00	06	08

¹ The Canterbury charges, however, appear to have been altogether more diffident than ours, though Dr. Peters did receive £3 10s. for curing a leg. Here are some of them—

"Pd. Launcelott Kennistone for setting Widd. Thomas thyke 15 : 0"

It must be said, however, that this charge appears twice in the accounts. Was it that like our "Doctor Williams" "hee must have 15s. more"? Probably he was only a bone-setter, and did not know how to charge courageously.

"Pd. James Meade for letting Goodman Bayliffe blod 1 : 0"

This was apparently of no avail, for there is a charge this year (1649) of 2s. 8d. "for a winding sheet for bailiffe." Still, the family resolutely tried it on again, for in 1654 we find—

"For letting Bayly's girle blood 0 : 6"

M^{rs}. Aimet, again, only received 3s. 6d. "for Phisicke for Mary Fuller"; Goodwife Woodruffe had 4s. 6d. for doctoring and "letting Patt Eaten blood in hir sickness." The charges for confinements are singularly modest—

"Paid Elias Taylor for ye barth of Will Garett child 2 : 0"

(This 2s., however, may have been for the tax—see p. 96.)

Again, Dorothy Drout's midwife received only 2s. 6d., though 5s. was expended "for beere and ale at ye christning and Buriall" of this infant.

For Elyno ^a . the wife of Mr. William Slade	00 . 03 . 04
For M ^{rs} . Pricsilla Scoble ¹	00 . 03 . 04
Reced.	04 . 02 . 04
Disbursed as by p'ticulars appeers the sume of	10 . 17 . 09
Soe disbursed more then recd.	06 . 15 . 05
more Rec ^d for 2 Burialls for Lowday Hunnye and Jone the daughter of John Stephens	0 . 06 . 08
Yett rest due to the Churchward ^{ns}	6 . 08 . 09
more rec ^d for Tho: Hodge and fflorance Cosgarne, 2 burialls	0 . 06 . 08
Yett rest due	6 . 02 . 01
we ^h sume of six pounds two shillings and one penny was this day p ^d to Sam ^{ll} . Hodge one of the abovesaid overseers."	

This leads me to speak of

BURIALS IN THE CHURCH.

It will be observed that the charge was only 3s. 4d.—say, one pound of our money—no wonder that so many were interred within its walls: there are few years in which there were not from five to twenty-five of these (in 1731 there were thirty "buryalls"; in 1676, out of thirteen of these, *three* were non-parishioners), and the names are generally recorded,²

¹ This and the three preceding names are those of persons buried in the Church.

² At Stratton, as early as 1512, we find the right to a grave in the Church sold for 3s. 4d., e.g., "Rec of Walter Gyste for his wyfy's pytt iijjs, iiijd"—burial in the *Churchyard* was apparently free. Stratton Church, like ours, "must have been almost paved with corpses." (Peacock.) Here 4d. was paid for a "knell" after death—the passing bell again was free. In 1526 a music book was given instead of the fee for the grave; in '30 the Vicar gave a "kercher"; in '34 Christian Elet gave her kirtle, value 6s. 11d. These interments in the Church—for a consideration—recall the epitaph—

"Here I lie, outside the chancel door,
Here I lie, because I'm poor;
The farther in, the more you pay,
Here I lie, as warm as they."

But this was not exactly the case in St. Austell, as in 1680 no fee was paid for Thomas Tippet's wife, against whose name is written "poor."

but only in connexion with the fees paid,¹ which at St. Austell were not exorbitant—at Canterbury 6s. 8d. was charged for “breaking up the ground.” They did not remain at this attenuated figure, however; by 1712 the charge had been doubled. In 1772 it was decided that, great injury should be done to the Church by digging graves therein, no one should be buried within its walls unless an undertaking had been given to pay to the Churchwardens the sum of four guineas. In 1793, “the faculty for the new Churchyard” having passed the Great Seal, it was resolved that ~~no~~ ^{no} new Churchyard be now used, and that no graves be made even in the old Churchyard except at a fee of £4 4s., the sum charged for interments in the Church. In 1811 it was decided that no one should be buried in the Church except on payment of fifty pounds, which heavy charge effectually put an end to these intramural interments. It should here be added that those buried within the building have no more been allowed rest in peace than those who were laid to sleep under the floor. The latter were disturbed in their long repose in 1839, when Church Street was widened; in 1844, when it was resolved that the excavated soil be removed to “the Higher Burial Ground” and the section was directed to collect all bones and re-inter them; in 1866, when the Memorial Vestry was erected, and finally in 1867, when the mound which had been on the North side of the Church was levelled; the plot of 1844 was then filled, the soil being carefully transported to the High Cross ground. But the dead within the Church were also taken care of; what remained of them, in connection with the re-interment of 1870.

Again, in the list of “Burials of Corps” in the church register, it is to say as to the

No burials not yet accounted for

DEATHS

of parishioners—the overseers received much more than they paid. In 1679 there is a reference to a *pauper* funeral—“Pd. Mr. Rob^t. Sawle and Phillip Elliott for burying Chalke’s wife, 16s. 4d.”; so there is in 1706—

“Paid to — Coombe for duty on interment of Thomas Cornish

a poore man _____ 04 : 00”

a pretty stiff charge if it was the parson’s fee (I do not think it was, as at Luxulyan, in 1763, Mr. Cole, the parson, was paid a like sum “for burying of *three* paupers and churching a poor woman” into the bargain), and in 1716, John Crapp was paid 7s. “for making a coffin for Eliz : Allen,” but I find little else which calls for remark.¹ Under 1701 there is an entry which, like the 4s. above, may mean a good deal—

“More for three burials of poor people *to be paid to the*

King by the Overseers _____ 00 : 12 : 0”

¹ At Canterbury, as already intimated, not only were “cofens” and winding sheets supplied, but refreshments for the funeral parties on a liberal scale. Here are some of the entries, in addition to those already cited—

“Pd. for laying Bing’s daughter forth _____	0 . 0 . 4
— for a winding sheet for Widd. Bayly _____	0 4 . 3
— 4 men for carrying him to ye ground _____	0 . 1 . 0
— to Goodwife Starke for laying Goodwife Thomas forth _____	4
— for carying hir [Goodwife Peche’s] bedding to aire (probably she died of an infectious disease : hence her four bearers received 1s. 4d.)—	2
— for bire at har finerall _____	4 . 6
Wool to sock her with _____	6
Black cloath to lay upon the cofen _____	1 . 0
— for old James Arnold’s grave and his knell _____	3 6”

There are also some payments for rosemary and “sweet watter” at funerals, which again point to infectious complaints—those were the days of the plague. These overseers were equally lavish at the beginning as at the end of life. Thus they

“Pd. Goodwife Renn at her lying-In (in 1663) _____	2 0
Paid the way-going woman in har lying-in and logging and nursing _____	9 6”

But they gave, as Cowper remarks, “to all comers.” In 1716, “36 semen castaway” were relieved by the Churchwardens—I must add that the total cost was only 1s. In 1718, 74 poor sailors received 6s. amongst them—less than 1d. each. There is also an entry of 7s. for “23 Persons castaway,” and another, “Gave to 18 slaues—2s. 6d.”

In 1694 an Act (6 and 7 William and Mary) was passed imposing, for a period of five years, a tax upon all births, marriages, and burials, in order to help defray the expenses of the war with France.¹ On the birth of every child, save those of paupers, there was an invariable tax of 2s., but the children of the quality paid more—the eldest son of a Duke, for example, paid £30 2s.; the younger sons paid £25 2s.; Archbishops paid in proportion; even Canons paid an enlarged fee, in their case 22s. So with burials, save that the charges were higher. The *minimum* fee was 4s., but an Archbishop paid £50 4s., a Bishop £20 4s., a Dean £10 4s., a humble Canon £2 14s. In 1701 the quinquennial period had just ended, and I think it almost certain that this payment *to the King* represents the fees of those whose friends—if they themselves were not paupers—could ill afford the fee. To the same tax again we are to ascribe an entry of 1698—

“Pd Joseph Rowse for the buryalls of 11 Poor people— 2 . 4 : 0”

And I incline to think it is to this Statute that the payment of 4s. on the burial of Thomas Cornish, mentioned above, refers; it was the exact amount of the tax, and our Overseers do not appear to have paid “Min Nesters’ fees” as they did at Canterbury.²

But if our Overseers were not too merciful to the needs of maternity, they kept a sharp look out over cases of

ILLEGITIMACY.

Mention has already been made of “Sam Hatches bastard.” In 1598, 3s. was paid “for remouving of Jane Donkin,” but far be it from me to suggest that this person’s crime was profligacy. As to other entries, however, there can be no

¹ France returned this compliment in 1707, when Louis XIV. imposed a duty on baptisms and marriages.

² P. 71.

doubt—one such I give below.¹ In 1707 mention is made of

“Extraordinary charges about whores and bastards— 001 : 04 : 02

Charges about Coryton and Pryor, a Rouge and a

whore————— 00 : 11 : 6”²

In our second book are two entries which may be commended to the notice of our present-day Guardians. In 1730 they “Rec^d of Mat. Edivean in p^t of maintenance of his Bastard, 10s. 6d.” In 1765, Matthew and John Benallick, tin-blowers, give bond³ to indemnify the parish against the maintenance of “a base child, with which Mary Dingle, single woman, is now pregnant,” and as late as 1819, Mr. R. Trestrain offers £25 to the parish “to serve as remuneration for any expense in the maintenance of a child of which Elizth. Luenstone is now pregnant of [*sic*] and which child she has sworn Thos. Trestrain to be the father of.” Now, we welcome such characters to our workhouses, where they have attentions which many honest women cannot command in their hour of pain, and as for their partners in guilt, they generally get off scot free ; the struggling ratepayer has to bear the burden.

The FOURTH page, which is dated April 24th, 1671, has also a certain interest because of the stringent and intolerant measures which it shows to have been taken against the Quakers—

“Received before this tyme by Joseph Sawle Esqr. the sūme of fower pounds and ten shillings levied upon the Quakers by distresse for being at Conventicles, wch. 4 : 10 : 00 was paid to the said

¹ P. 104.

² At Shillingstone, Dorset, on January 1st, 1742, David Pitman and Mary Haskett, “a rogue and a whore,” were married. Perhaps our “charges” last named concerned a like consummation.

³ In the Registers of St. Nich. Acons we often find, “There is a bond to discharge the p^{is}he of this child.”

Mr. Sawle by Digory Polwhele Esq.¹ a Justice of Peace and distributed by him as hereafter followeth (viz^t)

Rec^d more by Mr. Sawle the same time—10s with 10 in G^d whole and distributed by him the sūme of £5 . 10 . 00, w^{ch} 5 . 10 is disbursed as followeth

Widdowe Coombe	0 . 05 . 00	Jane Cosgarne	0 . 02 . 6
Humphrie Tregennow	1 . 00 . 00	Jane Perkyn	0 . 2 . 6
The almes poore	1 . 00 . 00	Robert Clemence	0 . 2 . 6
Mathew Higman's children	0 05 . 00	Grace Abram	0 . 2 . 6
Job's wife	0 . 05 . 00	Thomazin Medders	0 . 2 . 6
John Cornish	0 . 05 . 00	Edward Nicholl	0 . 2 . 6
Tho. Benett, Pentewan	0 . 05 . 00	Polgoone	0 . 2 . 6
Henry Knap	0 . 05 . 00	Phillip Kipper	0 . 2 . 6
Henry Comon	0 . 05 . 00		1 . 0 . 0
Hum. Rickett	0 . 05 . 00		
Widdowe Trebithick	0 05 . 00		
Tempo: Chissel	0 . 05 . 00		
	<hr/>		
	4 . 10 . 00		
	1 00 00		
	<hr/>		
	5 . 10 . 00		

Mr. John May Constble has rec^d more £4 . 10 . 00 an acct whereof is to be given to ye p^{ish}."

The Friends, however, appear to have continued obdurate, for we read presently (under 1672) that £13 : 07 : 06 was levied upon them, which amount was expended in sums varying from 1s. to 15s. on 67 poor persons, whose names are given. This is the poor list to which I referred on p. 84. After this, however, they appear to have been left to themselves—perhaps because of the Indulgence granted by the King in this year to all Dissenters.² Be that as it may, it

¹ In the Report of the Deanery of Powder, dated July 17th, 1665, we read—"Deg. Polwheel, Esq., sometymes fellow of Exeter Coll. in Oxford, practiseth Phisick in Probus."

² As it has been too readily assumed that this persecution of the Quakers was the work of Churchmen, it may be well to quote here the testimony of Mr. H. S. Skeats, the

was time they had a respite. No doubt they had brought much of the persecution which they endured upon themselves by their public and unsparing denunciations of others¹; still, it was a hard and cruel measure that was meted out to them. At the end of 1660, forty-seven Quakers were imprisoned in Cornwall for refusing to swear allegiance to the King. On Nov. 27th of that year, "Thomas Martin was taken out of a peaceable meeting at St. Austell and sent to gaol for refusing the oath."² Worse than that, the intruded minister of St. Austell—as we shall see later on—allowed his own daughter to be put into the stocks for turning Quakeress.³

As our Books contain the Churchwardens' as well as the Overseers' Accounts, there are a goodly number of entries, as might be expected, pertaining to

historian of the (so-called) "Free Churches." "During the Protectorate, three thousand one hundred and seventy-three Quakers were imprisoned, thirty-two of whom died in confinement. Their persecutors were, for the most part, Presbyterians and Independents." *History of the Free Churches*, p. 55. And again: "In 1662, more than four thousand Friends were in prison in England. . . . None had been more vehement against the Quakers than Bunyan." *Ibid*, p. 61. I may add that nowhere were they more severely treated than in Puritan New England. "By a law of Massachusetts," passed on Oct. 14th, 1656, "it was enacted that any Quaker landing on the coast should be seized and whipped. . . . The very captains of vessels were flogged for bringing Quakers into port." Curteis, *Dissent in its Relation to the Church of England*, pp. 82, 83.

¹ They held that it was "their indispensable Christian duty to testify," not only against tithes and Church rates, *et id genus omne*, but "against vice and immorality, openly in the streets and markets."

² *An Abstract of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers*, commonly called *Besse's Sufferings*; Vol. i. In other places they suffered worse things than in our town. John Rowett, of Mevagissey, lay for six months in Launceston gaol "for speaking a few words to the priest of Penryn." At a later date he was set on by a mob at St. Stephen's in Brannel. James Myers suffered a long imprisonment and was fined 20 marks "for speaking to the priest at Tudy Steeple-house," and so forth. And His Most Gracious Majesty might ship any Quaker convicted of a *third* offence "to any of His Majestie's plantations beyond the seas."

³ Chap. xii.

THE CHURCH.¹

Thus, in 1679, we find that John Crowle was paid 11s. "for keeping the clock and mending."² How long this economical arrangement lasted we cannot say, but on May 8th, 1743, Mr. Wm. Hext undertook to "repair and keep in order the Town Clock for seven years at Two Guineas *per annum*, from Easter Monday last." In 1685, £3 : 1 : 0 was "p^d for a Pulpit cloath and table cloath"; in '87 was

"Laid out towards the repairing of the middle chancell —————		00	07	. 00
1687. More p ^d . to Barrow the Painter for writing the sentences in the middle chancell —————		01	:	00 : 00
1679. P ^d Dixon the plaisterer for the Kings armes ³ ———		02	00	00
1683. p ^d . for binding the Church Bible —————		00	.	4 : 00"

There are many entries concerning Chapel Main, or "Chappell Meane," as it is sometimes written. It was let in 1659—that

¹ It is significant that there are no entries for Communion bread and wine. Was it that Communion was so infrequent and Communicants so few? At Holy Cross, Canterbury, on one occasion (1699), they had a gallon of wine (at 12s.) for the Easter Communion—the bread cost 2d. (The preceding year the elements cost £1 : 4 : 4 ; there were *four* celebrations in the year.) At Ludlow, in 1545, half a thousand wafers (the *syngynge* [singing] bread) only cost 2½d.

² In 1482, at Bishop Stortford, there was "payd to John Marchant for keeping of ye Clokke the same yere vis. viijd." ; in 1505 a like sum was given to the sexton "for kepping the chyme and the klokke all the yere." For "playng at the organs at Cristmas" John Cosyn received vjd. in 1491, but only id. "for playng at the organs agenst mighelmas." At Ludlow, in 1540, "the organ bloere" received for his yeare's wages ijs. viijd. ; at Stratton, in the year following, xijd. was "paid to the organ maker for hys fee."

³ At Bishop Stortford, in 1650, John Pegrome was paid 3s. 8d. "for *blurring* of the King's Arms in the Church and makeing up M^{rs} Hart's child's grave." At Stratton, in 1576, vs. vjd. was "paide to george the penter for drayng the X Commandments." At Wenhaston, in 1714, the Creed, Lord's Prayer, X Commandments, and two sentences cost £1 : 10. In '44 the Commandments were the worse for wear, and 6d. was paid for putting in some letters; the year before money had been "paid for altering a sentence in the Church that was wrong." These accounts also show 8d. "layde out for an houre glasse"; 9s. 3d. (in 1697) for a "Typett or Hood"—in 1765 a Hood for the Minister cost £1 1s.—and an umbrella for the same (probably for use at funerals) 18s.

is to say, during the Commonwealth—at the yearly rent of 6s. 8d. In '85 the half of it was unlet. In 1689 we find it unlet altogether, and in 1731 it was let to Mr. Hugo—probably the Rev. Stephen Hugo, who was then Vicar—for 21 years, at 2s. *per annum*—it had been let (in 1706) for 1s. 6d. This is the only scrap of *land* now belonging to the parish—the rest of our communal estates were sold in 1844. They realized about £460. The money was applied to the cost of the new Market House. In 1839 it was resolved “That all the Parish property *excepting Chapel Main* be forthwith sold.” The proceeds were to be “appropriated to the erection of a suitable building for holding of Parish Vestries and *for the erection of a lock-up.*” In 1840, however, another Meeting resolved that it did *not* consent to the sale of the parish property which is specified. But, later on, it *did* consent, and on November 30th the authorities selected a site for a new Market House, and applied for an Act of Parliament. The rent of Chapel Main is now £2 *per annum*, which is expended by the Churchwardens upon the Church or Churchyard.

The Churchwardens also make frequent mention of 8s. 2d. which they have “laid out at ye visitaçõn,”¹ whilst amongst their *receipts* is one item of constant recurrence, viz.—

“Of Mr. Sawle and Mr. Arundell for one yeare's rent
of their wall on the churchyard hedge ————— 00 : 00 : 04”²

In 1710 a crushing indictment is brought against the outgoing Churchwardens. “It plainly appearing that ye said Churchwardens have in many particulars overcharged the

¹ At Stratton, in 1513, the “expenses of visitacion at lanceston” were but xiiijd. ; two years later, “at the visitacion of my lord boshopp,” they were but xvjd. ; but in 1523 they were 2s. 4½d.

² Sometimes this payment appears in a different form—“for a Punion end in ye Churchyard,” or, “a bunion.” At Stratton, under 1562, we have, “Rec^d for standen a gainst the ponyon of Wyllyam yoe,” etc.

parish, it was thought convenient to pay them with fifteen pounds, wh^{ch} ye Farmer of ye Market was ordered to pay."¹

In 1727 the Churchwardens acknowledge to have received of their predecessors in office, 1,428 lbs. of bell metal, and to have lodged the same in the storehouse, which statement may fitly introduce what other references our Parish Records contain to the

BELLS AND THE RINGERS.

Neither of these are expressly mentioned in the following extract from the accounts of 1685, which is the date of the accession of James II.—

"pd. for powder and expenses at the bonfire at the
polamañon of the King ————— 00 . 14 : 00"

but I incline to think that the bell-ringing was one part of the expenses. The proclamation referred to was, I daresay, made at the Mengu stone. The next entry, however, is beyond all suspicion—

"For the Ringers, the Queens Crounasñon ————— 05 : 00"²

I cannot be quite so certain of the following, in 1706—

"Expended on 5th of 9^{ber} [November] and another day
on Rec^d. of good news 00 . 17 : 06"

¹ Their names are given in Chap. vii.

² The same sum was paid at Wenhaston on this occasion. The Loughborough Accounts contain many references to the Ringers, as *e.g.*—

1586. Pd. for a gaune of Aale for the ringers, viid.

1642. Pd. to the ringers for His Majesty, 10s.

Pd. to the same when Prince Rupert went to Leicester, 1s.

Pd. to the ringers when the King was here another tyme, 5s.

1658. Spent on the ringers when the Lord Protector [Richard Cromwell] was proclaimed, 4s. 6d."

Here are two items—the wide difference between the amounts shows on which side the sympathies of the parish lay—from the accounts of St. Lawrence, Reading, in 1644—

"Item. Pd. for ringing when the King came last to the Towne, 10s.

It. pd for Ringing a Peale when the Earle of Essex came to the Towne, 2s. 6d."

I wish I could tell the reader, positively, what the "good news" was—perhaps it was the news of Marlborough's victory at Ramillies. In 1725 it was decided that our bells should be re-cast, and among the expenses of that year is the following—

"For carriage of Weights to weigh the Metall, 1s,"

and in 1726 we have this Memorandum^m. about the Great Bell—

"That the Metall of the great Bell late in St. Austell Tower and broken into pieces weighed 1428 lbs. and lodged in the Store howse of the said parish."

In the next year, things remained *in statu quo*—the outgoing Churchwardens simply handed over the 1,428 lbs. of "Metall" to their successors, and it was not until '47 that this metal found its way to Gloucester, to the Bell Foundry. In 1740 we find this item—

"The Proctor's fees on account of the bells 13 : 8d."

Now I come to speak of what I may call the

POLICE

of the parish, of its dealings with rogues and vagabonds. It is difficult to believe that all the crime of our town is reflected in these records; it can only be an occasional misdemeanor that is brought before us. The primitive simplicity with which the Vestry protected our morals is very taking. Here is an entry of this type in 1690—"Disburst towards Thomas Hendye's imprisonment," 7s. 1d.; in '94 they "p^d. the constables for taking up men," 13s. 1d.; in 1700 we read—

"Gave Philip White for prosecuting a theife ——— 10 : 00"¹

Here is another excerpt—

"Paid for expenses on taking upp divers idle fellows²— 01 : 10 : 09"

¹ In the Luxulyan book I read similarly—

"For Putting forth John Pollard to Justice and 2 summons ——— 11 . 0"
And at Wenhaston two girls were carried to the Justices' sitting to *make them go to service*.

² In the Canterbury Accounts we find this item (in 1654)—"For Ketching Lankashir," 2s. 6d.

Their names are given, but let them rest in peace—*de mortuis nil nisi bonum*. In 1701, £2 : 13 : 3½ was paid to John Harper “for carrying Theifes to Goale.” Under 1707 we read—

“Disbursed relating to Florence Harrys,¹ a whore — 01 : 01 : 10”

In 1716, as in other years, there is a contribution to prison maintenance—

“To pay Mr. Hawkins which hee paid for Goale and Marshalsea money ————— 01 : 18 : 0”

In '33 the parish resolves on a prosecution—

“That Peter Allen be prosecuted with respect to his house, if he doth not comply with the terms,” etc.

It is to be hoped they did not persevere with it, for it was subsequently discovered that it was not *Peter* Allen at all; over his name the scribe has ingenuously written, “A Mistake,”² and we presently find that *John* Allen did comply with the terms—at least, he pays “the arrears to this day.” Now, at last, I may pass to the bottle of

BRANDY—

sometimes for a change they had *wine*; the cost was the same, 2s.—which was consumed with unfailing regularity, year by year, to celebrate the letting or survey of the Fairs and Markets. I mention this item with deep respect. When we remember the copious feasting of parish officials elsewhere, it is a striking tribute to the simplicity and sobriety of our forefathers that there are no entries in our book—save perhaps on that one occasion “when the L^d. Bpp. was att Penrise,” when their joy would seem to have momentarily carried them away—

¹ “For a poore child of Harrys,” Bennett Hendy was paid 4s.

² Mistakes are of common occurrence in these account books, especially in the *additions*. At Holy Cross, Canterbury, we are informed, “Ther was a mistake in casting up the Sess before ye Justis Singed it, two pounds.” Meadows Cowper, p. 110.

on account of guzzling and carousing. How different from Canterbury, for example, where the accounts could never be passed without a convivial meeting at the Cock, and where—as I gather from this entry (in 1672), “Spent at a parish meeting on Ester Monday, 4s. 1d.¹—they had refreshments dealt out to the Vestry; how different, too, from less decorous parishes nearer home! The accounts of St. Anthony in Meneage, for example, show that in 1792, 13s. 3d. was expended on the Easter Meeting—8s. for a gallon of spirits, 1s. for lemons, 2s. 3d. for 2 lbs. of sugar, and 2s. for the house. They seem to have made a night of it—at Wenhaston, there is a charge (6d.) for tobacco and pipes. In fact, it is not too much to say that the conduct of our parish business as a whole compares most favourably with that of “up-country” Overseers and Churchwardens. Candour, however, compels me to allow that before the end of the volume is reached the parish officials do not always display the same severe self-control. In 1741 a suspicious entry occurs for the first time; after the time-honoured “bottle of wine, 2s.,” we read—

“Pd. for *ye bowle* and cryer, 6s.,”

which looks as if the flask of wine were now succeeded by a bowl of punch. Observe, too, the sly and knowing way in which this innovation is masked behind the trifle paid to the bellman. I conclude this study of our

ACCOUNT BOOKE

with some *miscellaneous* extracts, which I hope may interest the reader.

¹ Here, in 1716, of the total disbursements of the Churchwardens, namely, £14 : 14 : 5, no less than £6 : 7 : 0 went in visitation dinners and fees. In 1698, 10s. was expended on bread and beer at the perambulation of the parish (in 1685, at Wenhaston, it cost “half a coombe of Malt”). Can this entry have any connection with a subsequent one (in '99)—

“Paid for *being Indited* at ye Towne Sessions, 3s. 8d.”

- " 1686. recd. for a dole farne in twelve in Carbean Lane End, 15s.
 1689, more recd. in farm out of Carbean Lane End
 being 18th _____ 00 : 04 : 06 ¹
 1686 Pd. John Giles for cutting the Leat above the bridge 6s."

The next three recall to us the dark days of the Press Gang—

- " 1691 Allowed on account of expenses of prest-seamen— 07 : 02
 1700. Disbursed for Impressing men _____ 06 : 11
 1701. John Gilles (sic) the farmer is ordered to pay £1 : 7 : 0 to
 Nic^s. Hewitt, Conbl^e. for Impressing men for sea service."

These sinister entries suggest that the parish had to pay not only for the Gang and its odious work, but for the temporary maintenance of its captives. Then follow some payments for lodging strangers—the first, a son of Mars, who cost the parish dear—

- " 1707. pd. William Thomas for his dem^d. for enter-
 taining a soldyer _____ £3 : 14 : 6
 1712 To M^{rs}. Can beeing brought to this parish by
 A warr^t. from two justices of the peace— 000 : 01 : 00
 To John Crapp for harbouring Widow Cann
 and A poor distressed traveller _____ 001 : 00 : 00"

The Crapps seem to have done a fair business in the way of lodgings, for another entry is—

- " More to Mary Crapp for entertaining Jane Cornish whose arm was
 very lately cutt off—one weeke—6s."

This Jane Cornish was a most undesirable parishioner ; next year she had a scald, and one doctor's bill for her and another amounted to £6 : 15 : 0. In

- " 1690 Allowed W^m. Vivian for . . . a new paire of stocks,² £1 . 0 . 0"

¹ These last quoted entries I must confess that I cannot explain, in spite of much research and enquiry. A "dole meadow" is a meadow shared among several persons. *Perhaps* the parish had a share in a farm : one year a twelfth, another an eighteenth.

² At Wenhasston, as elsewhere, they had a Whipping Post, and the frequent references to a renewal or a removal of the stocks prove that that institution was much in request.

In 1703 a striking footnote is appended to the Accounts, "Mind Mr. Moyle's bond for £100, besides interest of Mr. Vivyan's money." (Richard Moyle, of Trevissick, married Emblen Vivyan about 1631; their initials, with this date, are still found on the gateway at Trevissick.) Then we read of various "legasies," e.g.—

1674	Rec ^d . of Mr. Sawle for Mr. Carlyon's legasie the sume of _____	£20 : 0 : 0
1689	Given by Mrs. Tremain to the poor of the parish _____	00 10 00
1695	W ^m . Rowett gave to ye poor of the parish—	£1 : 0 : 0
1716	Rec ^d . of Mr. Hugo, beeing a legacy given to the poore of St. Austell by Mr. W ^m . Hambly of St. Nyett (Neot) dec ^d . _____	£1 : 0 : 0"

Two items of constant occurrence are—

"For a denominacon _____	2 : 0
To the reeve of Tewington for the King's rent (or for one year's rent) of the Market house _____	2 0"
1708 Three pounds was paid "to make reparation for non-payment of the Toll Tyn of Tewington to the land tax for the last year, 1708, there beeing none gotten."	
"1716 To John Eastlake for makeing and copping Militia bookes _____	02 : 00
1722 Charges in the removeing paupers _____	003 : 13 : 08
1725 To Cha. Goode for gathering stones _____	000 : 02 : 10"

At Ludlow, in 1545, ijd. was paid "for reddyng *the Churche* of stonys." But I apprehend Goode gathered his stones from our streets. The first bill I have observed for "paving ye streets" is in 1741, and it amounted to 5s. 4d.

"1733.	Polkey pay ^d . to ye Manor of Tewington	2 : 6
"	for the assize of bread _____	2 : 0"

We have already seen (page 29) that the parishioners of St. Austell held the assize of bread and ale; that is to say, they had the power of assigning or adjusting the weight and measure of bread or beer,¹ subject to an acknowledgment paid to the Lord of the Manor, which sum was apparently charged on the parish property at Polkyth. In 1735 we observe that the accounts are for the first time submitted to two magistrates, viz., John Hawkins and Josh. Sawle (Mr. Sawle was also Overseer and Churchwarden this year). In 1742 it was decided to erect a workhouse, and the principal inhabitants signed their names thereto in the account book. This same year there were two farmers of the markets and fairs, viz., Bullock and Hendy, who shared the expenses in a curious way; each, for example, "paid George Pollard 6d. for placing the great stone (was this the *Mengu*?) by Mr. Card's standing." And each paid 4s., "one half the bottle of wine, bowle, and cryer." There was paid in 1741 "for scowering the plate, 6d.," and Mr. Carlyon's huntsman received 2s. 2d. for vermin. In 1747 it was ordered "that Elizabeth Watts be forthwith *turned out* of the workhouse," which looks as if they had made the new building a comfortable abode, though the idea of *expelling* paupers is new to us. In 1755, Robert Mole having been summarily "dismissed from being governor of the parish workhouse," Chudleigh Cock and his wife were appointed "at a sallary of £12 : 12 : 0." It is quite credible that the public notice to this effect "given in the church last Sunday" had been read out during Divine Service.

And here our examination of this quaint old record must come to a close. I do not pretend to have exhausted the more

¹ Many corporate bodies possessed such powers. The ancient boroughs, for example, appointed not only their mayors, port-reeves and constables, but their *bread-weigher* and *ale-taster*, to regulate the quality as well as the quantity of these commodities.

or less interesting entries which it contains ; I have considerably left some pickings for those who come after me. Still, I venture to hope that the excerpts here given throw some little light on the daily lives and occupations of the men who walked our streets or found a home in our Church two centuries ago.

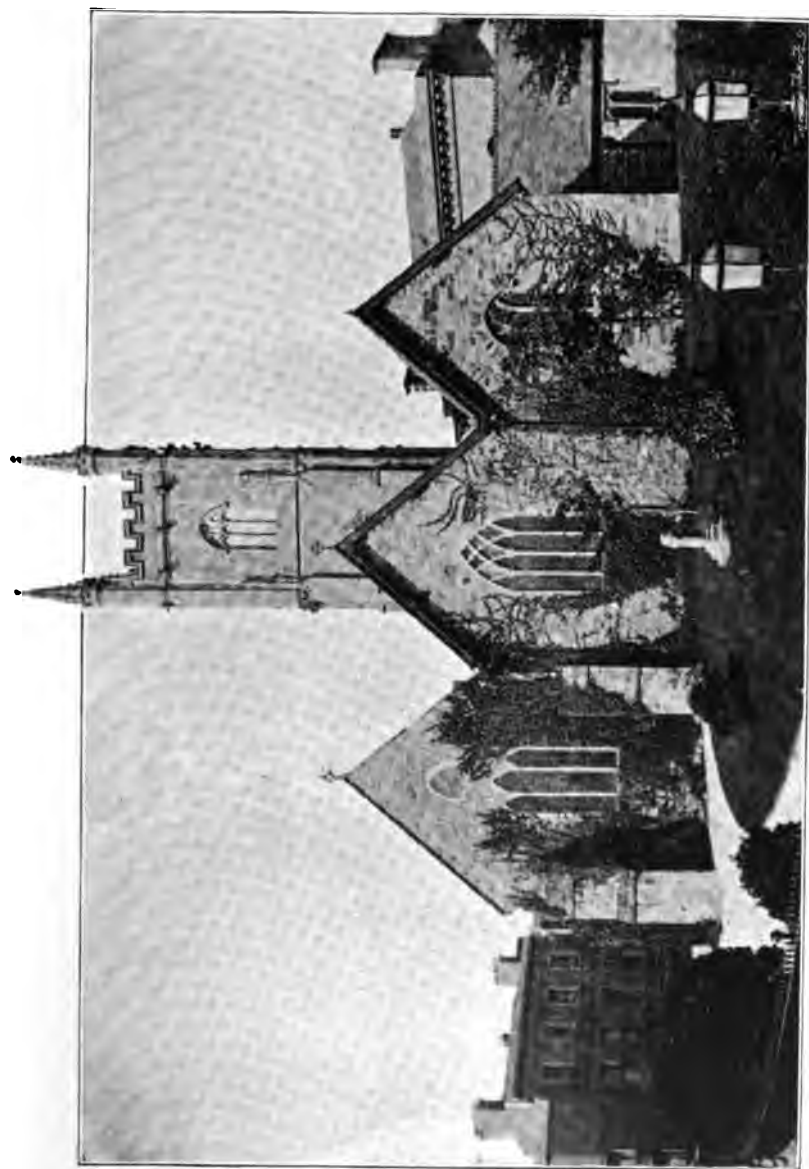
CHAPTER VII.

OUR CHURCH.—THE EXTERIOR.

IT has been observed of Weimar, the “Athens of Germany,” that it is “a park with a town attached.” Of course, it is an exaggeration, but it serves excellently well to convey the idea that the park is the chief ornament and characteristic feature of the place. In the same way, or, rather, in a truer sense, it might be said that St. Austell is a “Church with a town tacked on to it.” In a truer sense, because the Church is not only *the* feature of the town, but the town has literally grown up around the Church. The history of the place is for many centuries the history of the Church,¹ as the careful reader of Chapter III. will have observed—so much so, that it has been doubted whether, when the Church first comes before us, and for some years afterwards, there was any village hard by to support it.² I may perhaps add that, when writing the chapter entitled “Our History,” I was tempted—it seemed almost an act of justice—to transfer many of the materials there embodied—the charters of Robert Fitz William and the donation of Philip de Sancto Austolo, for example, to this chapter on the Church, to which they really belong. They only stand where they do for convenience of arrangement.

¹ “The Parish Church stands where and much as it stood eight or nine or even ten centuries ago. It alone saw the making of England.” F. B. Zincke, *Wherstead*, p. 2.

² Norden’s map shews a Church, but *no houses*.



ST. AUSTELL CHURCH.

FROM THE EAST.

After a Photograph by Mr. Alan Cood.

[illegible]

And the Church owes its distinction, its high place among the Parish Churches of England, not to its size—it is a comparatively small structure—or beauty, nor yet to any part that it has played in history, but to its *symbolism*. “The glory of a building,” says Ruskin, “is in its age, and in that deep sense of voicefulness, of stern watching, of mysterious sympathy, nay, even of approval or condemnation, which we feel in walls that have long been washed by the waves of humanity.” This exactly describes the distinction of our Church. It is a Sermon, or rather a *Course* of Sermons, in stone; I have ventured sometimes to speak of it as “the Stone Book of St. Austell.” The Parish Churches of this country are confessedly without a rival in the world. “They are not so magnificent,” says Fergusson, “as her Cathedrals, nor as rich as her [College] Chapels, but for beauty of detail and appropriateness of design they are unsurpassed by either, while on the Continent there is nothing to compare with them.” “In care and beauty of workmanship” Mr. Street¹ pronounced the little village Church of Stone, in Kent, as “undoubtedly superior to the minster,” Westminster Abbey, which it resembles. They were built by the same architect. To this I may add that the Parish Church of Boston, Lincs., possesses the highest tower in England, “Boston Stump”—70 feet higher than the great towers of York and Worcester, and *twice* the height of those of Chester, Bristol, and Carlisle. Again, the spire of the Parish Church of St. Michael’s, Coventry, 320 feet in

¹ In a paper read by this distinguished architect, in 1850, before the Exeter Dio. Architec. Soc., on *The Distinctive Features of the Middle Pointed Churches of Cornwall*, he says of our Chancel, “The whole character of this work is very good and worthy of notice as introducing us to the *still better later work*.” He gives a drawing of the East End, but does not dwell on our carvings. He pronounces the Chancel “one of the two instances of the transition from First to Second Pointed.” Rickman (p. 144) mentions St. Austell as “a fine large Church, with a very fine tower, nave and aisles, all good Perpendicular.”

height, is only exceeded in this country by that of Salisbury Cathedral (404 feet). But splendid as are these structures, and humble as is the place which our Parish Church must take amongst them, if that place is to be determined by dimensions or associations, there is one particular in which I believe it stands second to none—I mean in respect of its carvings, its carvings both in wood¹ and stone.² It is an epitome of the Creed; it is a Gospel addressed to the eye.³

¹ Only a small portion of these, unfortunately, those displayed in the Belfry, survive.

² One is at first tempted to wonder how our sculptures escaped the hands of the destroyer. But "Destructive Dowsing" and his tribe did not extend their ravages West of Exeter—we were saved by our remoteness. And the victory of the Royalists here may have spared us the humiliation of having the Church occupied and plundered by the Roundheads. Many Churches elsewhere were converted to their use as barracks for the time being, and we often read of frankincense being burnt (as at Loughborough in 1644) to sweeten the place after the soldiers had left it. Here are two extracts from the *Records of St. Michael's Parish Church*, Bishop Stortford—

"1648 For censing the Charch and for sweeting it and washing the seats after the soldiers, 13s. 4d.

For mending the chymes and wyres that the soldiers broke, 3s."

And an entry under 1643 shews that the troopers carried off the brasses and images (see pp. 75, 106). Here are others from the Church of St. Lawrence, Reading—

"1644. To Pharrowe for making upp the seats when the parliamentary
Souldiers were here _____ 3s. 4d.
To Daniel Browne and Goody Venter for makeing cleane the
Church then _____ 2s.
It. for ffrankincense to sweeten the Church _____ 1s.
It. p^d. for mending the seats in the Church wth the souldiers had
broken downe _____ 1s. 6d."

Similar entries are found in the Accounts of '45 and '46. At Wenhaston, about 1644, we read in the Accounts—

"Lay'de out to the men which cam to break down the pictures in the
glasse windows _____ 5s.
Layde out for the removeing of the topp of the funt and organies out of
the Church _____ 6d."

³ "In the sanctuaries of GOD, men who could neither read nor write cut out sermons, painted homilies and wrought doxologies which spoke to the eye and thence to the spirit. . . . The teachers were the carpenters, masons, and smiths of the village, and right well they wrote their lesson in the sanctuary. Every cut of the chisel inscribed a doctrine on the hearts of generations in the country homes of Devon and Cornwall." Reynolds, *Ancient Dio. of Exeter*, pp. 131-2.

There are eighteen statues on the Tower; there are fifteen escutcheons on the South side. The Trinity (to Whom it is dedicated), the Incarnation, the Passion, the Resurrection, the Ascension—all are “evidently set forth” upon its walls. Indeed, it may safely be said that, with one exception, the outpouring of the Holy Ghost (and was not that idea symbolized there once?) there is hardly a leading feature of our most holy faith which the builders have not essayed to represent. Even the Intermediate State and the Preaching to the Spirits in Prison are here portrayed by the mason’s chisel. The stone, we may truly say, cries out of the wall, and the beam out of the timber answers it.¹

But let us proceed to examine it, this bit of Nuremberg, as it would seem, which has found its way into Cornwall. We will first make a tour of the *exterior*, and then we will enter the building and observe its *notabilia*. And perhaps the best point to begin with will be

THE TOWER,²

of which, according to Stockdale, even in 1824 the inhabitants boasted as the handsomest in the county. If the reader really cares for such things, he will do well to take his stand on the steps of the Queen’s Head Hotel, opposite the West Front;

¹ Hab. ii. 11.

² This was restored in 1896, at an expense of £300, under the direction of Mr. G. H. Fellowes Prynne. But it was not “Grimthorped”; all that was done, apart from the new leads and the timber to support them, was to scrape off the decaying stone and to replace it where it was perishing. For once I am glad to find myself in agreement with Mr. Drew; he speaks of the tower as a “magnificent structure,” and of the nave as “equally superb” (p. 44). But I read with some surprise in Murray’s *Handbook* (1882) that “this tower divides the honours of the *extreme West*” with Probus. We call this *East* Cornwall. In its ground plan and general structure ours is not unlike “the typical Cornish Church,” which “has a low, square, pinnaced tower, three low aisles of nearly equal height . . . a roof of the vaulted shape known as a ‘waggon roof,’ and continuous from the nave to the chancel and without a chancel arch.” Tregellas, in the *Court Guide to Cornwall*, p. 296.

or, better still, by the kind permission of the proprietor, which is always readily given, ascend to the room on the first floor, which commands the best view of the sculptures. He will have already remarked the graceful pinnacles—four “silent fingers pointing to the sky”—the battlements, the gargoyles, the fantastic faces—actually described in the *Itinerary through Cornwall* (1824) as “sculptured monstrosities!”¹ He will also have observed the elaborate diaper work—there are ten lines of carved stones, of nine different patterns—which decorates the topmost story, and all these are better examined from a little distance away. Our present study, however, is the religious sculpture—I do not mean that any scrap of it, even the line of grinning crocketts, is non-religious. “There is nothing secular,” said Archbishop Benson, “but sin,” and our forefathers never dreamed that there was anything profane in chastened mirth; had they done so, we should never have had these humorous effigies built into the temple of God. By the term “religious sculpture,” therefore, I mean that which was designed to teach the lessons or doctrines of our religion. And first, occupying the highest position, on the West Front,

¹ These “monstrosities” will repay a careful study. One idea pervades the series—that of *amusement*. Just as other carvings are for edification, so are these for mirth; they were meant to raise a laugh. We must remember that when the Church was built there were no books. So the Church took the place of the book. Only in wood or stone could the men of that age embalm their humour. This has been well expressed by Bishop Lightfoot in his *Historical Essays*. In that on “England during the latter half of the Thirteenth Century,” he says: “Time was when Temple or Cathedral was the most effective form in which creative genius could appeal to the public. The stone book was the most easily deciphered, the most widely read, the most importunate and self-asserting form of poetry. . . . Imagination wrote down all her poetic thoughts in masonry, grave and gay alike—her lightest effusions as well as her more serious communings; for what else are the grotesque carvings which sometimes appear in such strange company with the most solemn subjects but the mopings and mournings of the age, the cynicism, the satires, possibly even the scepticism of the mediæval mind, the imagination seeking relief in some freak of merriment or some grin of sarcasm.” All this was lost on Gilbert, who speaks of our “fanciful sculpture” and “uncouth animals” (*Historical Survey*, p. 864), and on Stockdale (*Excursions*, p. 47), who probably copied from Gilbert.

facing the Fore Street, we have a remarkable, if rude, representation of the Trinity¹—what is technically known as the "ITALIAN TRINITY," of which I cannot do better than borrow the following description from Mrs. Jameson's *History of our LORD as Exemplified in Works of Art*. "The First Person," she observes, "is here alone invested with human shape, and the Second Person is represented by the mere symbol of a Crucifix, with an image of a dead CHRIST upon it,² thus sacrificing the idea of His Divine nature to that of His earthly sufferings." She proceeds to say that this "strange device . . . obtained a strange popularity from the twelfth to the seventeenth century,³ exhibiting little variety of composition during all those ages. The FATHER is always seen supporting the Cross by the two ends of the transverse beam, the effigy of the dead SON hanging generally between His knees,⁴ while the Dove appears proceeding from the lips of the FATHER and touching the head of the SON—which is the earliest form—or perched like a mere bird on the side of the Cross.

¹ See the illustration, p. 116. Drew—or Hitchins was it?—actually says this figure "displays His Holiness in enormous state, beneath whose feet are Joseph and Mary and some other characters"!

² The accomplished authoress of this monumental work appears to have overlooked the fact that a "Crucifix" involves a figure of our LORD and that a "dead CHRIST" has "human shape." Apart from these inaccuracies, however, I am disposed, in the main, to agree with her estimate of this "anthropomorphous representation of the Trinity."

³ No personal representation of the FATHER can be found earlier than the ninth, or, according to M. Didron, the twelfth century. "Il faut le dire enfin, les premiers Chrétiens jusqu' aux cinquième et sixième siècles, furent assez mal disposés pour les images en général; tous étaient iconoclastes, ceux-ci un peu plus; ceux-la un peu moins. On sortait du paganisme." *Icon de Dieu*, p. 204, quoted by Lord Lindsay. I believe that in the first ages the FATHER was always represented by the figure of a hand, a symbol of creating and sustaining power. There is no instance of a simple Cross earlier than the fifth century, and even to the seventh century our LORD was generally represented by the *Agnus Dei*. The Quinisext Council, held at Constantinople (A.D. 683), decreed that the figure of the REDEEMER should replace the Lamb. Langdon, p. 18.

⁴ Possibly to express the idea of generation.

. . . It would be difficult to explain this spurious kind of *Ecce Homo* by any text of Scripture or tenet of theology. It comes before our eyes like false logic in Art, the propositions of which are unequal . . . a theological absurdity.”¹ Still, the fact remains that, altogether inadequate and grossly unsuitable as this carving is, and as every attempt to symbolize the mystery of the Triune Nature must necessarily be, it does aim at expressing in stone the Christian doctrine of the Blessed Trinity; the teaching may be lame, but the lesson is there. And to me there is something almost touching in the idea it conveys of the succour and support afforded by the FATHER to the Crucified; it also emphasizes the thought that the Cross was part of “the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of GOD.” “It pleased the FATHER to bruise Him.” And it is noticeable, too, that whilst the FATHER holds the Cross, He blesses mankind at the same moment. A similar carving is found in York Minster and on one of the bosses in Carlisle Cathedral. In our case, I have not been able to find any traces of the Dove, but that it must have been there originally admits of little doubt—otherwise this would be no emblem of the Trinity at all; it would assert a duality in unity. The carving has obviously suffered from the tooth of time; some of the fingers of the hand raised in blessing have disappeared, and the nose is injured; so, no doubt, the Dove has perished: it is just the part of the effigy that would be the first to fall. Underneath this group is the representation of HADES, of which I spoke a moment ago. It consists of a sort of sheet,

¹ Lord Lindsay's description (*Sketches of the History of Christian Art*, p. 248) of the Italian Trinity is more appreciative: “The Ancient of Days, in the form of an aged man, wearing a crown or tiara, seated on the clouds of heaven, holds forth, as the sign of salvation to mankind, the SON OF MAN nailed to the Cross, which He (the FATHER) sustains by the two transverse arms. The HOLY GHOST, in the form of a dove, hovers between them, as proceeding from the FATHER.”

grasped on either side by the hands of an angel, standing in which appear four figures with their hands folded in prayer. These are "the souls under the Altar" of whom we read in the Apocalypse,¹ the dead in CHRIST, waiting under the shadow of the Cross and the benediction of the FATHER for the day of recompense—"The souls of the righteous are in the hands of GOD, and no torment can touch them."² We now turn to the two figures below the Trinity. That to the left represents the angel Gabriel, that to the right the Blessed Virgin. The angel's wings are plainly discernible in the case of the former, and the pot of lilies below, the constant emblem of virginity, leaves us in no doubt as to the identification of the other statue. The hands slightly raised, both on his part and hers, are meant here, as in similar representations elsewhere, to import a dialogue, the delivery and receipt of a message—"Ecce . . . paries filium"; "*Ecce, ancilla Domini!*"³ I referred to this just now as a lesson on the Incarnation; the ANNUNCIATION of the Virgin Mary comes to the same thing. I may observe here that the brackets on which the statues rest, as well as the "supporters" of the shields at the angles of the tower, are worthy of a moment's notice; the angel has in every case a fillet or band round the head, bearing on it a cross. The same thing is of course to be found elsewhere; still, it is not always observed how the sign of our redemption appears at every turn in our ancient ecclesiastical architecture; even the bright messengers of GOD bear it on their brow.⁴ Now we come to the three statues of the lowest

¹ Rev. vi. 9. ² Lysons speaks of this cloth as "the usual representation of All Saints."

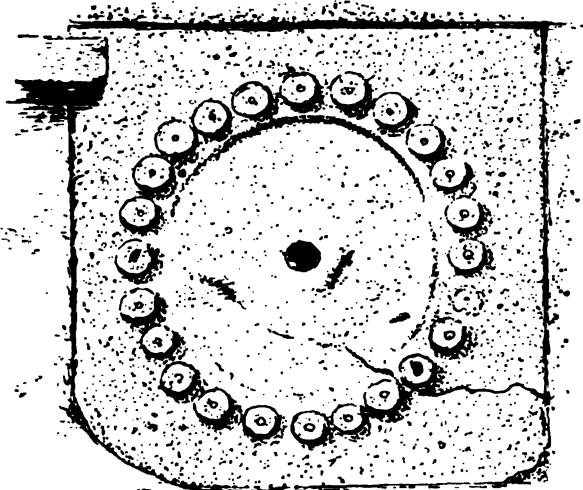
³ "Since Century X. both Gabriel and Mary are represented standing, the angel extending his hand towards Mary in the delivery of his message, the latter raising her hand in astonishment and meek acquiescence." Lord Lindsay, *Sketches*, p. 256.

⁴ In the same way, the sacred monogram *Ihū* stands at the head of every page of the Church Account Book of Kingsthorpe and other parishes.

tier, as to which there have been endless speculations. I think I have had the good fortune to decide the question as to the central figure, which, as already observed, has long been supposed to represent St. Austulus. For when the tower was repaired in the spring of 1896, I ascended in the workmen's cage, and then remarked for the first time that the left hand of this figure grasps a staff *tipped with the Cross of the Resurrection*—the right hand is raised in benediction. The Cross of Resurrection is distinguished by the banner or miniature flag attached to it. And this settles the point. This middle figure stands for our RISEN LORD.¹ But what of the statues on either side? All we can say is that one represents a bishop, the other a "regular" priest—observe the chasuble, the rosary, the cord. I cannot believe that any particular bishop or priest is intended, but I do think the idea was to emphasize the connection of this Church with the Diocese of Exeter and the Priory of Tywardreath; also, and above everything, to indicate that the clergy, in their vocation and ministry, are CHRIST'S delegates and derive their authority from Him. It will be observed that *they* are portrayed in the act of *blessing*, just like the FATHER and the SON. "GOD having raised up His SON JESUS, sent Him to *bless* you"—this is one message of the middle figure; "As My FATHER sent Me, even so send I you"—this is the idea embodied in the other two. I may point out in passing, that the brackets which support these two figures suggest a distinction of order between them and the other persons portrayed on this West Front; in the latter case, angels are employed; in the former, the effigies are those of human beings. The only other point to be remarked here, apart from the chaste doorway with its label or dripstone

¹ Lysons (p. ccxxix.) saw in this figure "our Saviour crowned with thorns, holding the Cross in his left hand." But the banner escaped him, as well it might do.

and carved spandrils, is the ancient CLOCK FACE, with its four and twenty bosses or circles, below and to the right of the West window. It has been too hastily assumed that this arrangement shows that our Cornish forefathers divided the day and night into twenty-four consecutive hours, whereas the circles may have been marked so as to indicate hours and *half*-hours, though one wonders, if this were so, why no distinction was made in the size or shape of the circles. Still,



FACE OF THE OLD "CLOCK."

From a Sketch by the Author.

I think we have evidence that the hours, or hours and half-hours—whichever it was—were marked. If the spectator regards them carefully he will observe a little hole in the centre of each boss, from which I infer that they were once faced, probably with some metallic plate or covering, on which the hours may have been inscribed. Tradition ascribes—so I have read somewhere—this clock face to John Austle, a miller, probably also a myth, who is also held to have given his name

to the town. It has been pointed out, too, that this stone was probably inserted some years after the tower was built, a part of the window-sill having apparently been cut away to make room for it. It is also of different stone from the adjoining masonry, the line under the sill being granite. Anyhow, I am clear that this is one of our greatest curiosities, and is probably the face of that "clok" which existed in the time of Edward VI., when "Austoll" is described as possessing "four bellys and a klok"—the only place in the county, apparently, which had one; at any rate, there is no mention of one elsewhere.¹

But we must now tear ourselves away from this "museum of antiquities" and proceed on our journey round the Church. The visitor will do well to cast an upward glance at the armorial SHIELDS which stand right over the gargoyles at the four angles of the tower. At the N.W. corner we have the arms of the Courtenays—Or, three Torteaux, differenced with a label of three points, supported by two angels—which must, I think, point to the episcopate of Peter Courtenay at Exeter. It thus enables us to fix approximately the date of the erection

¹ Dunkin, *Church Bells of Cornwall*, p. 6. The inventory of our Church goods at that period (1552) may be seen in the Exchequer Q.R., "Church Goods, Cornwall 47." Under the "Hundred de Powdre" we read: "The sūma [summa] of the Plate and Bellys of every Pyſche in the Hundred of Powdre, ut sequit :

Pōchia de	Item, iiij bellys and a klok, ye wyght unknown.
Austoll	Item, a porcyon of a Crosse of Sylver and Gylte, of ijcx unc.
	Item, a sylverne Senser of xxvi. unc.
	Item, ij chalic of xiiij unc.
	Item, ij cruetts of Sylver of iiij unc."

In the *History of the Municipal Church of St. Lawrence, Reading*, there is a reference to a clock as early as 1433. In 1520 they had a "new klok." Clocks date from the early part of the tenth century, time having been measured before then by sun-dials and hour-glasses. The monk Gerbert, who became Pope in A.D. 999, as Sylvester II., is credited with the invention of the first clock, but they do not appear to have come into common use before the *fifteenth* century. Chambers, *Book of Days*, Vol. ii., p. 418.

of the tower. Bishop Courtenay was consecrated in 1478 and translated in 1487. On the shield to the S.W. are three *fleur de lys*, which must surely refer to the Prince of Wales and Duke of Cornwall; that they represent the arms of the Scobells is altogether out of the question—more honour would never be given to a private and by no means distinguished family than to the Bishop of the diocese or the great and powerful house of Courtenay. This shield is supported by two lions, langued. At the S.E. corner we have a shield, supported by two angels, bearing a flowering branch, which is supposed to represent the broom—*planta genista*—of the house of Plantagenet, so that the place of honour is assigned to royalty. If this surmise is correct, we have another indication of the date of the structure, for the last of the Plantagenet princes died in 1485. The shield at the N.E. angle is plain; it bears no device; it is supported on the breast of a single angel. On the Vane may be traced the initials E. H. (Edmund Hennah) and G. G. (George Geach), and on the slate slabs which do duty for louvre boards, G. G. (George Geach) and J. W. (John Wheeler). These worthies were Churchwardens in 1814 and 1823 respectively. Mr. Geach certainly magnified his office to the perpetuation of his name.

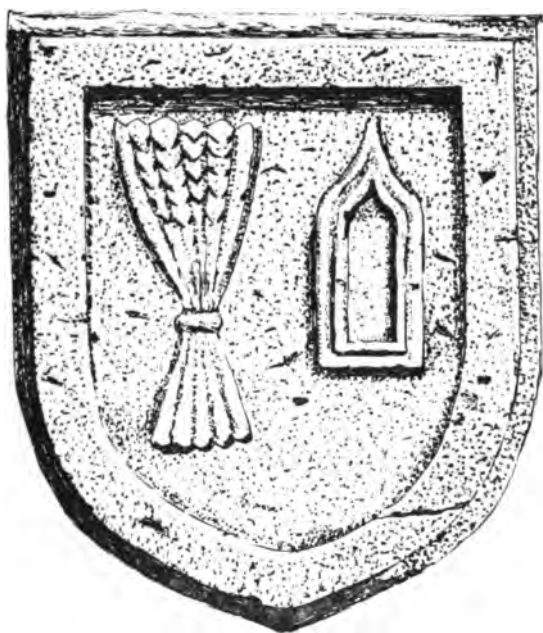
The next thing to be observed is the effigies of the TWELVE APOSTLES, four on each face of the tower (except the West). Some of these carvings are much the worse for wear, but still, some eight out of the twelve can be identified by means of their symbols. Those on the South side apparently were thought worthy of special distinction, in the shape of a nimbus or corona, which I cannot trace elsewhere. That to the left is "Simon Peter, the first": he is known by the keys he carries in his right hand; in his left hand is a book—no doubt St. Mark's Gospel. This is in a state of much better

preservation than the other three, of which, indeed, the middle one is a shapeless mass, and as to which I hesitate to offer any conjectures. On the East side St. John stands first : he is readily identified by means of the chalice which he holds and by his beardless face. Next to him stands St. Thomas : he is marked by the carpenter's square. The next grasps a staff surmounted by a foliated cross in one hand and a bag or wallet in the other : I take this to represent St. Philip, or possibly St. James the Less. The fourth presents to us an open book : I assume that this represents St. Matthew, the Evangelist-Apostle. On the North side we have—but it is idle to prosecute these identifications any farther ; it can hardly interest the reader to learn that this is the effigy of St. Simon and that of St. Jude. The point is that the effigies of the Apostles are here to teach, rightly or wrongly, the Apostolic Succession ; that the Church is “ built on the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets,” etc. But let us descend to a lower plane—to the West windows. There is a resolution of the Vestry in the year 1823 that the new belfry and two *Western* windows in the South aisle, the two *East* windows in the North aisle, and the window over the porch, be taken out, and new ones *with stone mullions* be put in—probably the existing mullions were largely of cement, as are some few of those existing now. The Vestry also decided “ that the whole of the South wall of the East end of the Church be covered with Roman cement.” This must refer, of course, to the interior.

Of much greater interest, however, than even the emblems of the Apostles, are the ESCUTCHEONS,¹ a series of which illustrates the South side of the Church, and forms an exposition of the Passion of our LORD. They constitute indeed a

¹ Landewednack Church has shields even on its *bells*. Blight, p. 42.

sort of Ober-Ammergau representation, in stone and symbol. As already remarked, they are fifteen in number—I do not include the pelican over the entrance to the South porch among them—and they stand for the most part, if not altogether in chronological order.¹ On the *first* shield is pictured a doorway—and one closely resembling those three within the



THE FIRST SHIELD.

From a Drawing by the Author.

¹ The Flamank family, to one of whom is dedicated the tombstone under the "Baptismal Window," formerly occupied one of the principal houses in Fore Street—that now inhabited by Mr. T. Grose. It was quite a home to the early Methodist itinerants, and John Wesley is said to have preached from its steps. (He did stand, as he tells us himself in 1770, *at the head of the street*, and took for his text, "Thou shalt worship the LORD thy GOD.") It should, however, be added that other steps in the same street claim a like distinction—we are almost reminded of the pieces of the true Cross. Some of the Flamanks intermarried with the Colensos. It is an old Cornish name; Flamank and Joseph, a smith of Bodmin, were the leaders of the rebellion of 1497. The "High Cross Field"—now the Burial Ground—was exchanged in 1792 by one of the Flamanks for three fields, called "Polkeys," plus £38 17s.

Church leading to the Parvise (or Paradise, the room over the porch) and the rood-loft—a *doorway* and a *bunch of hyssop*, thus reproducing one of the earliest and most eloquent types of our redemption¹; so that the shields begin with the Old Testament, with the prefigurement of the Passion contained in the Jewish Passover, and thus they speak indirectly of the slaying of the Lamb from the foundation of the world. The *second* shield, which, like the fifth and eighth, is supported by an angel, may at first sight appear to be out of its proper place, for it is a representation of the *five wounds*, and we have not yet reached the crucifixion; the third shield only speaks of the betrayal. I believe the explanation to be this—that just as the first carries us back to the *types* of our LORD, so does the second speak of the *prophecies*: “They pierced my hands and my feet,” “Reproach hath broken my heart” (observe the gash in the heart)—it is of such predictions of the precious death as these that this second shield would remind us. The first takes us to the *Law*; the second to the *Prophets*. With the *third* we enter on the *Gospel* narrative; it tells of our Saviour’s *apprehension*; it reproduces the “lanterns and torches and weapons” of “the men that took Jesus.”² The *fourth* carries our thoughts to the *scourging*; in the centre is depicted the pillar or post to which, according to tradition, our LORD was bound; on either side is a flagellum—the *horrible flagellum*, as Horace calls it—or whip of several thongs. The branch-like appearance of the scourges may, however, point to *rods*, rather than whips, for the Romans did sometimes scourge with rods as well as with thongs. The *fifth* shield, on one side of which is a sword or dagger, and on the other something like a *fleur de lys* (lily flower), has been reasonably supposed to signify the agony

¹ See Exod. xii. 22, 23, and compare Heb. ix. 19.

² St. John xviii. 3; St. Matt. xxvi. 47.

of the Blessed Virgin—"Yea, a sword shall pierce thine own heart also"—but some uncertainty attaches to this sculpture, and there are those who see in the supposed lily a flowering sceptre. The idea in that case would be that the judicial sword which slew our LORD was the instrument of His exaltation and dominion—*crux scala cæli*, in fact, or *per angusta ad augusta*. The next, the *sixth*, has been generally supposed to tell of the *mockery* of CHRIST by Herod's men of war and



THE FOURTH SHIELD.

From a Drawing by the Author.

Pilate's brutal guard. In the centre has been seen the crown of thorns, crossed by two staves, these latter pointing perhaps to the mock sceptre put into our LORD's hands or to the rods with which He was beaten. But a careful examination of the carving has convinced me that this crown is composed, not of thorns, but of *leaves*, and *woolly* leaves like those of the hyssop. It will be observed, too, that the staves stop short

of the chaplet : there is no show of crossing it, and that each is tipped with a kind of trough or support. I can only see in this sculpture, therefore, the bunch of hyssop that was put to our LORD's lips, and the reed or reeds—there were four soldiers—that held it. The carving below the crown has been variously supposed to represent a seat—Pilate's *bema*¹—or the label with the inscription thereon, which Pilate put above the



THE SIXTH SHIELD.

From a Drawing by the Author.

Cross ; for myself, I incline to the latter view. This brings us to the SOUTH PORCH. Under the window of the chamber above it is an inscription in bold antique letters which has given rise to much controversy.² The *lower* line, I N R I, is

¹ St. John xix. 13.

² There is a drawing of it in Lysons, p. ccxxxii. Stockdale (p. 47) says these "curious cyphers" have "never been satisfactorily explained even by the most intelligent antiquarians."

perfectly clear, and everybody knows that these letters stand for *IÆSUS Nazarenus Rex Iudæorum*—it is idle to interpret them otherwise. But the upper line is not so easy to explain, partly because one of the letters is now well-nigh illegible.¹



THE INSCRIPTION AND THE PELICAN.

From a Photograph by B. Julian.

But they are, and were formerly, believed to read KY CH, in which case there can be little doubt, I should imagine, as

¹ Whitaker held that the inscription had been mutilated—a most visionary idea. The letters are figured in the Additions to Camden's *Britannia*.

to their meaning : they must stand for *KYrius CHristus*—"CHRIST is LORD." And this interpretation agrees admirably with the *I N R I* below. The idea in that case would be that the upper line gives us in *Greek*, the latter in *Latin*, a brief account of our SAVIOUR's offices, whilst the former also points to the *Divine* and the latter to the *human* nature of our LORD—"GOD hath made this JESUS Whom ye crucified both LORD and CHRIST." Anyhow, the builders of our Church, like Pilate, have put an inscription over His Cross—for the shields speak of His Cross and Passion—if not in letters, in language of Greek and Latin. The interpretation *RYCH* as "Richard,"¹ or *Ry. II.*, is out of the question—what Richard forsooth could our architect have desired to commemorate, and what king or common man could have had his name placed *above* the sacred monogram? So is *RY DU*—said to be the Celtic for "God is King," or *KY CH*, which others say is Cornish for "flesh," or "He gave us His flesh"—explanations no doubt suggested by the *PELICAN* below,² which was restored in 1889 at the expense of the Rose Croix Freemasons of the county, chiefly through the exertions of the late Mr. William Guy, our then Postmaster. It is hardly needful to say that the pelican, which was anciently believed to *vuln*, *i.e.*, wound itself for the benefit of its brood, which it nourished indeed with its own blood, is an ancient and very eloquent emblem—"the pelican in its piety"—of the self-sacrifice of our Redeemer, Who "gave His flesh for the life of the world." Before leaving the

¹ This idea was, I believe, first suggested to Mr. Hennah, a former Vicar, by Mr. Arundel, Vicar of Landulph. According to Polwhele, Mr. Hennah himself maintained the words to be Syro-Phœnician (!) and *KYCH* to mean "Dearly beloved."

² It has been stated that these letters resemble some on tombs in Westminster Abbey of the period 1273 to 1291. But if so, I do not see how that helps us, for our porch is of much later date.

South Porch,¹ the visitor should observe the very beautiful tracery above the outer doorway. Now we pass to the next escutcheon, the *seventh*, which brings before us the implements employed in the Crucifixion—hammer, nails, spear and sponge. Observe the *three* nails, one for each of the hands and one for



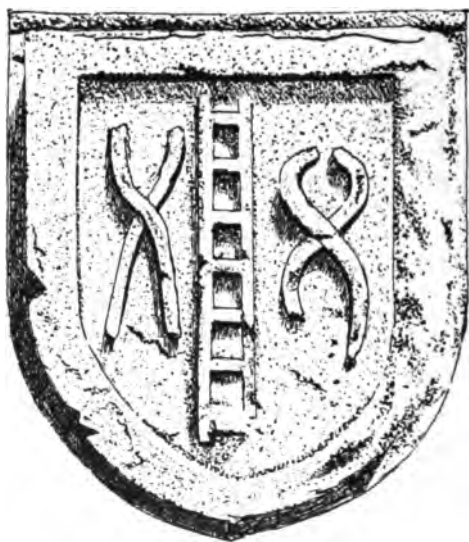
THE SEVENTH SHIELD.

From a Drawing by the Author.

the *crossed* feet of CHRIST, according to ancient belief. The *eighth* shield is the *Veronica* (i.e., *vera iconica*, or "true likeness"), and is the only one of the entire series which is based on tradition; all the rest reproduce the teaching of Holy

¹ Within living memory, notices have been posted up here to the effect that "Mr. Julyan (the clerk) has a fine bull-calf for sale," and so forth.

Scripture.¹ The tradition is that our LORD, when on His way to crucifixion, returned to St. Veronica the napkin that she had compassionately given Him, wherewith to wipe the sweat and dust from His face, with His own blessed image imprinted thereon. Then we have, next, a representation of the *Crucifixion*: now CHRIST is “evidently set forth” as crucified. We are reminded, too, by the *steps* to the cross, of



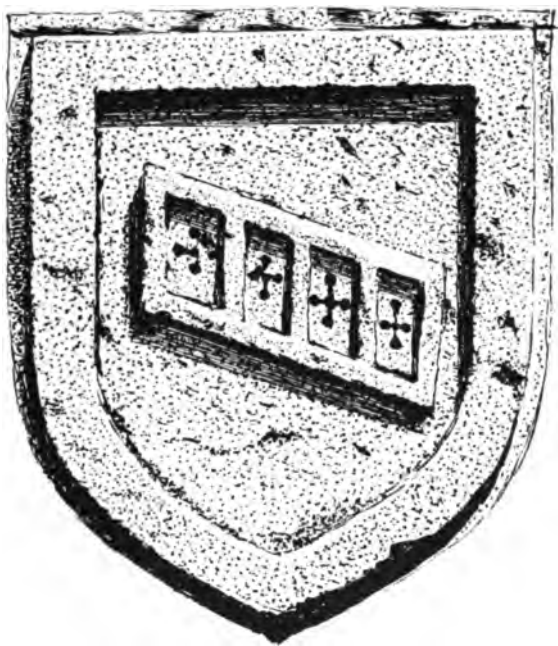
THE TENTH SHIELD.

From a Drawing by the Author.

the *stages* in His sorrow and shame. It may be mentioned here that these new shields—the freshness and colour alike show in a moment which are new—the work of Mr. Doney, sculptor, of our town, which have replaced some that were perishing, have all been inserted within the last ten years (chiefly through the energy of Mr. H. S. Hancock, who

¹ It is very remarkable how thoroughly Scriptural and evangelical are all our carvings, especially when it is remembered that they were all chiselled in pre-Reformation times.

industriously collected funds for the purpose), and are exact copies of the original carvings. The old work has been carefully preserved (with the exception of the old pelican, now in Truro Museum), and it is hoped some day to display it, either inside the porch or in the Church—I mention this to reassure the Society for the Protection of Antient Monuments. The *tenth* tablet treats of the *descent from the Cross*; it encloses a



THE ELEVENTH SHIELD.

From a Drawing by the Author.

bas-relief of the ladder and of the pincers used to draw out the nails. The bitterness of death is now past; the burial is at hand. The next represents—or recalls, rather—our LORD in His sepulchre¹; it is a symbolical representation of the

¹ Mr. Iago informs me that a very similar sepulchre is found on a bench end in Launcells Church—figured in *The Western Antiquary*, Vol. vi., p. 141.

sealed stone, the punctured or indented crosses standing for the seals. It is significant that the seals take the form of *crosses*—a reminder that the sleeping SAVIOUR has been crucified. The *twelfth* tablet speaks of a part of redeeming work which in modern times has been almost entirely lost to view—our LORD's descent into hell and His "preaching to the spirits in prison"¹; in fact, it is a representation of that "harrowing



THE THIRTEENTH SHIELD.

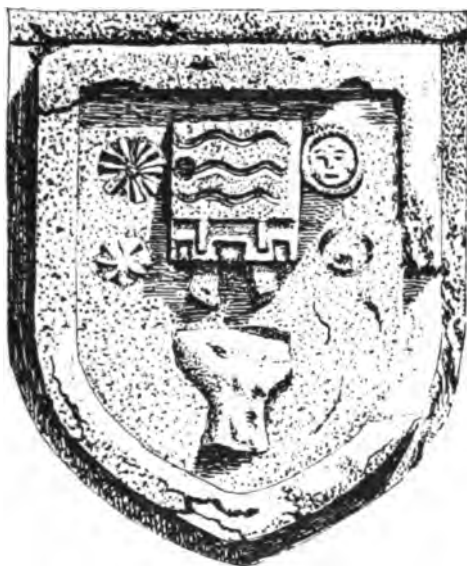
From a Drawing by the Author.

of hell" of which so much was made in the Middle Ages; it was sometimes called the *Extractio Animarum ab Inferno*, and was a favourite subject of miracle plays.² Our LORD is repre-

¹ 1 Pet. iii. 19.

² Mr. J. O. Halliwell published in 1840 a miracle play of the time of Edward II., entitled *The Harrowing of Hell*, which he pronounces to be "the earliest existing dramatic composition in the English language." He holds it to be founded on the

sented carrying the *vexillum*, or banner of triumph, through the realm of death and darkness. The *thirteenth* panel treats of the *Resurrection*, and by a symbol of the simplest kind : we have the same representation of the stone (or tomb) as before, but the seals are gone—the stone has been “rolled away.” Grouped around it are the axes of the guard and their ensign. The latter suggests a contrast between CHRIST’S flag



THE FOURTEENTH SHIELD.

From a Drawing by the Author.

of triumph and the disgraced banner left behind by the soldiers. It may be, however—one cannot obviously be positive in such matters—that the banner here points again to our LORD’S triumph. The *fourteenth* “sermon in stone” is on

apocryphal gospel of Nicodemus ; he adds that the legend (as he calls it !) forms a part of almost every known series of miracle plays. It was at first represented by priests, afterwards by laymen. Though Cornwall, as represented by its Methodism, is now violently opposed to the drama, yet about two-thirds of the existing literature of mediæval Cornwall is dramatic poetry.

the subject of the *Ascension*; in the upper part we see sun, moon and stars, and below, our LORD's robe—His high-priestly robe, because the bare feet appear underneath it (the priests always ministered barefooted), so that it is a picture of our Great High Priest passing through the heavens.¹ Below this, again, stands a font, the idea manifestly being that when our LORD ascended up on high He left behind Him a Church and a commission to bring men into it, to "make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them," etc.² The last of the series represents "this same JESUS" as "crowned with glory and honour."³ He is now on the right hand of GOD. The *Agnus Dei*, the "Lamb as it had been slain," carries once more the banner of victory; the crown attests His kingly state; the sun, representative of all the heavenly bodies, suggests that He is now seated in the heavenly places. Such is the Gospel, preached to the eye, sculptured on the walls of our Parish Church; such is the delineation of the tragedy of Calvary. I do not know of any Parish Church which can boast of such curious and eloquent and evangelical bas-reliefs, and I do not think I shall be accused of exaggeration for having affirmed that the "stone book of St. Austell" presents us with an epitome of the Creed and brings before us in outline the cardinal doctrines of Christianity.

As the shields end with the TURRET—beyond which is older work, probably the very wall of "that Chapel of St. Michael in the Cemetery of St. Austell," of which we read in the old charters⁴—this may be a fitting place to remark that our Church has two spiral staircases, as well as a third leading

¹ Heb. iv. 14.

² St. Matt. xxviii. 19, 20. Compare St. Mark xvi. 15-19—"Preach the Gospel to the whole creation. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved. . . . So then the LORD JESUS, after He had spoken unto them, was received up into heaven."

³ Heb. ii. 9; iv. 14.

⁴ See p. 17.

to the Parvise, each leading to the rood-loft of former days, and thence on to the roof. Each of these terminates in a battlemented turret. On the South face of the South turret is a SUN-DIAL with the somewhat tame inscription, "Every hour shortens life."¹

The rest of the exterior calls for but little notice. We may, however, as we pass round by way of the Priest's Door to the North side, observe the antient cross. It was brought (by Mr. H. S. Hancock) from Treverbyn to its present site in 1891, as the inscription at its base records. According to Mr. Iago, it was found near the boundary line of St. Austell and Luxulyan parishes, on a spot which lies on the straight line between the antient Priory at Tywardreath and the antient

¹ "Before the invention of clocks"—I quote from the *Monumental History of the British Church*, p. 201—"a sun-dial was a necessary adjunct to every religious establishment, for the purpose of marking the ecclesiastical divisions of the day and ensuring punctual attendance at the various religious services. Most Saxon Churches appear to have been provided with a sun-dial." So, according to Mrs. Gatty (*The Book of Sundials*, p. 30), were most of our London Churches. "Many a mark in a Church wall still shows where a dial once has been." I have spoken of the St. Austell inscription as "tame." No one could bring a similar charge against the inscriptions which dials, as a class bear. Some of them are profoundly striking—Charles Lamb says they are "more touching than tombstones." I give a few instances. Catterick Church—*Fugit hora, ora*; Wycliffe-on-Tees—"Man fleeth as a shadow"; Sidbury Hall, Yorks.—*Eheu, fugaces*; Overton, Flints.—*Carpe diem*; Whitworth, Durham—*Hoc tuum est* ("This hour is thine"); Yattenden—"Like to this sirkell round, No end to Love is found"; Whitburn Church, Durham—*Lux Dei, Lex Dei* ("The light of day is the law of God"); Parkstone, Dorset—*Lux et umbra vicissim, Sed semper amor* ("Light and shade in turn, But Love always"); Cokethorpe Park, Witney—*Moneo, non maneo* ("I warn, but wait not"); Woodhorn, Northumberland—*Horæ pereunt et impulantur*; Goldney House, Clifton—*Sine sole sileo*. (There is a similar inscription, in French, at Boileau—*Quand je ne vois pas clair, je me tais*; another apt French inscription is—*Souvenez-vous la dernière*.) Here is an admirable legend on a School porch—*Doce, disce aut discede* ("Teach or learn, Or out you turn"). None of our Cornish mottoes show much originality, except perhaps that of St. Eval (1724)—"We shall die all," which I assume to be a play on the word "dial." St. Just in Penwith has, *Sic transit gloria mundi*. Everyone knows the inscription, *Horas non numero, nisi serenas* ("I count no hours, except they are calm") but almost as striking are these two in their brevity—*Donec dies* ("Until the day dawn") and *Ita vita* ("Such is life")—for all of which I am indebted to Mrs. Gatty.

Chapel at Treverbyn.¹ Such crosses, many of them much more elaborate and imposing, if not much older, are very common in this county. "Cornwall possesses a larger and more varied number of early Christian monuments than any other county in the British Isles."² The visitor will observe the grassy slope at the northern extremity of the Churchyard ; he may be surprised to hear that down to the year 1886 a huge bank of earth (of which this slope is the only survival), the accumulation of centuries of interments, rose to this height on this side of the Church, very much to the detriment of its appearance. In that year it was reverently removed—there had been no interments (save that of Mrs. Smyth, wife of a former Vicar, in 1820, as her tombstone records) within living memory—to the High Cross Burial Ground hard by. Much the same thing was done in 1839, for the purpose of widening Church Street, and again in 1844, when the Churchyard wall was built. The Vestry is of St. Stephen's granite, and was built in 1886, from the plans of Mr. J. Piers St. Aubyn, by public subscription—its cost was £330—as a memorial to Mrs. Marianne Carlyon, wife of Mr. Edmund Carlyon, of Polkyth, for thirty-three years in succession one of our Churchwardens. The stonework of the "Census Window," that next to the Vestry on the North side, is worthy of notice for the careful and minute decoration of its tracery, and the same remark applies to the North-West window, that at the end of the North aisle, which we pass presently on our way back to the tower, where, having completed our circuit of the Church, we may well begin our examination of the interior.

¹ Langdon, p. 253, who also (p. 7) quotes Mr. Haslam's testimony that the wayside cross was not so much designed to make men "thynke on Hym that dyed on ye Crosse and worshippe Hym above al thynge," as to "*guard and guide the way to Church.*"

² Langdon, *Old Cornish Crosses*, p. 1. Till I read this, I always imagined that Yorkshire came first. Mr. Romilly Allen (*Monumental Hist. of the British Church*, pp. 221, 225) gives it 24 inscribed and 66 uninscribed stones, as against 7 and 24 to Cornwall. He also adds that the Cornish art is very poor (p. 179).

CHAPTER VIII.

OUR CHURCH.—THE INTERIOR.

FROM an architectural point of view—possibly also from an ecclesiastical, for Church life begins at the Font—the visitor should enter the Church by way of the South Porch rather than the Tower, because of the interlacing arches which are visible from that coign of vantage. Our study of the interior, however, may be somewhat more methodical, if we make the Tower our *terminus a quo*. So let us enter by the West Door, and begin with the Belfry. The first thing to be observed is that the Tower is not in line with the nave, nor is either in line with the chancel. A glance at the ground plan reveals this double deflection from a right line more plainly than does the view of the Church, though it is conspicuous enough there. The obliquity between nave and chancel is common enough—it is supposed to symbolize the droop of our LORD's head as He hung upon the Cross—but I do not know a Church (there may be many) with so marked a deviation from rectitude at either end. The Tower is faced, internally, with granite—and fine blocks of granite they are—whilst its exterior, like that of the nave and aisles, is of Pentewan stone. This being the exact opposite of what most persons would have expected, it may be as well to remind the reader again that our Cornish granite is of very variable quality, some of it being extremely

soft and spongy,¹ and nothing like so durable as ordinary elvan or limestone.² The Tower Arch, under which we shall pass presently, is of Pentewan stone, and attention may be directed here to the beautiful colouring—between a cream and a carmine—which it has in the course of years acquired. Before the restoration of 1870, this Arch was disfigured by a gallery which projected into the Church and stretched right across it; needless to say, it was occupied by the singing men and singing women, the players on instruments of music, and the unfortunate Sunday School children.³ The copy of the royal proclamation already referred to,⁴ the royal arms—a vestige of a bygone state of things—and the doggerel verses which embody certain antiquated rules for the bell-ringers—and which show plainly that such rules were not unnecessary—need not detain us. But the old BENCH ENDS, now ranged for preservation and observance on either side of the Tower, the only antient woodwork, alas! which still remains to us, are worthy of a more particular notice. Though they are by no means comparable with the rich carvings of many West country Churches, and though they have suffered greatly from neglect, yet they are distinctly interesting and instructive, not only because of their antiquity—they go back to the times of the early Tudors—but because of their evangelical symbolism, their subject being, for the most part, like

¹ See p. 48, Note.

² "Pentewan stone lasts better than granite, as in the case of the beautiful cross at Lanherne, which is made of this material, and has retained its ornament in almost as perfect a condition as when first cut." Langdon, p. 16.

³ This gallery was erected in 1752. At least, there is a statement in the Parish Account Book of that year to the effect that James Devonshire undertook to build it, together with a ringing floor or loft, according to plan, for a hundred guineas, inclusive of the plastering, which John Hooper subsequently engaged to do at 4½d. per yard *for labour*; the parish was to provide the materials.

⁴ Page 28. This is, I believe, the best preserved copy in the county.

that of the shields outside, the Passion of our Most Holy Redeemer.¹ On the North side we see, as we have seen already elsewhere, the five wounds—there is a similar gash in the heart; the instruments of the Crucifixion—hammer, nails, ladder, spear, sponge and pincers—and we have also pickaxes and shovels, which were long supposed to be mere representations of implements used in mining. And they are, no doubt, accurate *copies* of Cornish tools of a former age; indeed, they are very like those used amongst us at the present day. But I think we are bound to ascribe to them a religious significance; why should we think them secular emblems when everything else is, in a sense, sacramental? And I cannot but hold that they stand for the mattock and spade used in preparing the place for the Cross. We have also the Alpha and Omega, the I H S, a foliated M (Mary) surmounted by a crown—we have four of these emblems of the Blessed Virgin²—a griffin with gaping jaws, symbolical of Hades, the all-devouring³; a St. Andrew's Cross, supposed to point to the connection of our Church with St. Andrew's Priory at Tywardreath; the letters B. J., possibly the initials of some benefactor⁴; the

¹ The writer of the *Illustrated Itinerary of Cornwall* only saw in these bench ends "various implements used by miners" (p. 105).

² A similar monogram of the B.V.M. is found at St. Keverne and elsewhere. The bench ends at St. Keverne include many representations of the Instruments of the Passion. Here is also a face, probably meant for that of Pontius Pilate, whose authority is indicated by the sheaf of spears on the next shield; a cock and a fish—both references to St. Peter; a chalice and wafer, etc. Mullion, which is remarkable for its carvings (*Mullion*, p. 27), has arms of the Passion very like ours; among them are the spear of Longinus placed diagonally with the reed, three dice, and a ladder with torches. This series, too, closes with a shield bearing a chalice and wafer. Blight, *Churches of West Cornwall*, p. 42 sqq.

³ We speak of the *jaws* of death. At St. Just in Penwith there is a representation of a dragon's head, with figures (representing souls) actually in its mouth. So there is, Mr. Iago informs me, on a bench end in Launcells Church, though here the banner of resurrection waves over the gaping jaws, thus symbolizing the "Victory over Hades."

⁴ In Bodmin Church many such initials are found. The letters B. T. there stand, according to Mr. Iago, for Bartholomew Trott.

letters *ma*, no doubt an abbreviation of "Maria," and what is apparently a representation of the Holy Coat or vesture of our LORD. On the South side we have, first, a small portion, easily recognized (it is quite in the corner) of the antient rood-screen; then one of those quaint conceits in which the mediæval artist so much delighted,¹ namely, a fox in the pulpit, before which kneels a woman with ruff and furbelows; a satire on the preaching of the time—perhaps of all time.² Then we have two ecclesiastics—their faces unhappily much marred, in fact they are gone altogether; still, we can, I think, say positively that the one was a priest, because of the maniple which hangs over the right arm, and that the other represents a deacon, because of the book—no doubt the "Gospels-boke"—with its clasp. In some cases the wood is so much worn or decayed that it is difficult to say what has been figured on it. The escutcheons with armorial bearings are believed to give the Arms of the Archdeckne (or l'Ercedekne) and Haccomb families, the former being, "Argent; 3 chevronels, gules" (the same device is found in Tintagel Church); the latter, "Argent, 3 bends sable." Sir John Archdeckne, of Ruan Lanihorne, a few miles away, married, in 1342, Cicely, daughter and heiress of Jordan de Haccombe, or Hautcombe—Haccombe is in Devon.³ On the side of the wooden framework which encloses the clock weights the Prince of Wales's feathers may be seen in their original form—the Prince of Wales, it is needless to observe, is also Duke of Cornwall.⁴

The Stained Glass Window over the Tower Doorway was

¹ See Note, p. 114.

² Hitchins and Drew entirely mistook the sex as well as the significance of this figure. "Close by," they inform us, "is a monk in prayer!"

³ The fine monumental effigies in Haccombe Church attest the distinction of this family.

⁴ "The eldest sonne and heir apparant of the King of England is Duke of Cornewall as soone as he is borne, or as soone as his father is King of England. But he is created

inserted in 1882 by public subscription to the memory of the Rev. Fortescue Todd, Vicar of St. Austell for forty-three years—from 1838 to 1881. It is from the atelier of Mayer and Co., of Munich—in fact, it was “made in Germany”—but the colouring has been much admired. The door in the corner leads to the CLOCK, provided in 1883 by public subscription, and replacing a very antiquated and erratic machine.¹ There are eight BELLS,² cast by Rudhall, of Gloucester, in 1747—*vide* the statement framed and hung in the Tower, and kindly presented by Mears and Stainbank, Rudhall’s successors.³ The weight of the tenor bell is 15 cwt. They bear the following inscriptions—

“FIRST BELL : By music minds an equal temper know,

SECOND „ Nor swell too high nor sink too low.

THIRD „ Music the fiercest grief can charm,

FOURTH „ And Fate’s severest rage disarm.

FIFTH „ Music can soften pain to ease,

SIXTH „ And make despair and madness please ;

SEVENTH „ Our joys below it can improve,

EIGHTH „ And antidate [*sic*] the bliss above.

RICHARD HENNAH, *Vicar.*”⁴

Prince of Wales by a special creation.” Sir John Dodridge (A.D. 1630), who adds that this was “the first erected Dutchie in England after the Norman Conquest.” It was created in favour of the Black Prince, on March 7th, in the eleventh year of Edward III. The Charter conveys to him “Tewington with the appurtenances.”

¹ The cost of the clock and chiming arrangement was £240. It was supplied by Gillett and Co., of Croydon.

² When Dunkin wrote his *Church Bells of Cornwall*—in 1878—only seven Churches in the county had peals of eight bells. Those of Landewednack are interesting, as having shields with sacred emblems on them. (Blight, *Churches of West Cornwall*.) This county was one of those threatened, *temp.* Edward VI., with the removal of its bells, and an order was issued in 1549 for the removal of all bells except the smallest in each peal—this was when the people had taken up arms in support of Arundel’s rebellion, and the bells had been used to collect the insurgents. The usual number of bells at this time for a Cornish Church was three or four. (Dunkin, p. 3.) St. Austell had four.

³ The old bells were sent by sea from Padstow to Bristol.

⁴ I do not know that we are to conclude from Mr. Hennah’s name appearing at the end of this poetic effort that he is responsible for these lines. They have a curious antiphonal

Passing into the Church, the spectator will be struck with what is undoubtedly a drawback—its lack of height; like many other Cornish Churches, it is painfully dwarfed; it is said that they were afraid to build them higher because of the fierce gales which sweep across the county. Anyhow, it would have gained immensely in impressiveness had the wall-plate of the roof, which lies just clear of the rounded arches, stood some three or four feet higher. He will, however, be charmed by the cradle or waggon roof, a common feature in the West country. The principals, purlins and rafters, now hidden by the plaster panels, are all of good solid oak. The bosses were picked out with gold and colour in 1883, but traces of an older colouring were even then discernible in places. He will also be impressed by the elegance of the columns and the whiteness of the stone; he will hardly believe at first that it comes from the same Polrudden quarry as the worn and discoloured materials which compose the outer walls. I may say here—it is as good a place as any other—that the Church was restored in 1870, at a cost of £2,500, Mr. J. P. St. Aubyn, whose handiwork is so traceable all over this county, being the architect. It was re-opened on May 17th, 1870, Archbishop Temple—then Bishop of Exeter—preaching morning and evening. One good thing at least that restoration did—it swept away the “loose boxes” and “pues,” and all the seats were declared “free and unappropriated for ever.” We are mainly indebted for this consummation to Mr. Edmund Carlyon, but the system of appropriation had then lasted too long, as if the two Churchwardens had contributed a line in turn, or the eight ringers one each. Bells have always afforded a fine opportunity to the local poet. Here is one effort of his genius—

“This bell was broake and cast againe, as plainly doth appeare;
 John Draper made me in 1618, wich tyme Chvrchwardens were
 Edward Dixson for the one, who stode close to his tacklin,
 And he that was his partner there was Alexander Jacklin”!

long for the reform to be effected without some opposition.¹ Passing down the Nave we observe the Churchwardens' staves of office at the intersection of the gangways. They are interesting in this respect—that they were carved (by Mr. Harry Hems) out of some antient oak taken out of Exeter Cathedral, and were presented to the Church by Mr. Arthur Coode. Turning to the left, and passing up the North aisle, we see on the wall a monument erected to Mr. Charles Geach, M.P., a native of our town, and sometime Mayor of Birmingham. He died in 1854. A little farther on are two brasses, one to the Rev. George Lambe, formerly Vicar of Charlestown, and a member of an old St. Austell family—this was erected in 1889—and one to the memory of his second son, who fell at Krugersdorp on January 1st, 1896, one of the few victims of Dr. Jameson's unfortunate raid. The adjoining window, locally called the "Census Window," was inserted in 1891, as the inscription at the foot explains, as a memorial of the census of that year. This brings us to the PULPIT, which is of Derbyshire alabaster, resting on a granite base. A brass on the wall behind it explains the subjects of the four panels and records the names of the donors. It is the work of Mr. Hems, of Exeter, and cost £120. It was first occupied on Friday, October 7th, 1881, by the late revered Archbishop Benson, then Bishop of Truro, on the occasion of the institution of the writer as Vicar.² The brass pulpit desk and candlesticks

¹ The *Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Michael, Cornhill* (1456-1475), show that pews were then common enough. There are many entries as to their construction and repair. From the *Churchwardens' Accounts of the Town of Ludlow*, edited by Thomas Wright, F.S.A., London, 1859, we gather that the custom was to grant a piece of ground, measured out on the floor of the Church, on which a man erected his own pew. Mr. Kerry in his *History of the Municipal Church of St. Lawrence, Reading*, remarks (p. 77) that there "Seat rents appear to have been a source of revenue from very early times."

² This was said at the time to have been the first *public* institution of a clergyman ever held in Cornwall.

were given by the Rev. F. B. Paul, then Rector of Lanivet, for nine years Assistant-Curate of this parish. The Oak PARCLOSE SCREEN behind the Pulpit was erected in 1894, and is the gift of Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Coode, of Trevarthian, St. Austell. Of the two screens on the South side of the Chancel (we may as well speak of them here), that to the East was given by the Hancock family—*vide* the brass plate—and that next to the Nave by the women of St. Austell—or, more accurately, by the ladies of the congregation, with some help from others outside it. The cost of the three screens was £150. They were carved by Messrs. Luscombe and Son, of Exeter, after the designs of Mr. G. H. Fellowes Prynne. The two-manual ORGAN is the creation of Messrs. Bryceson, of London; it has cost about £750.¹ Opposite the Pulpit and Screen on the North Chancel wall are three monuments, one to the Rev. Richard Hennah, for nearly half a century “minister of this parish,” the other two to the first and second wives of the Rev. T. Scott Smyth, Mr. Hennah’s successor. A brass plate over the doorway into the VESTRY (into which we will enter for a moment) informs us as to the circumstances of its erection, but of these I have already spoken.² The window on the East side is the work of an amateur, Mr. Freeth, of Duporth (*obit* 1882), and commemorates the father and a brother of Bishop Colenso. Mr. Colenso, *père*, was at one time mining agent to the Duchy of Cornwall, but afterwards became a brewer. The oak chest carries us back to the Restoration; the date, 1662, has luckily been preserved; the rest of the *lid* is obviously new. Behind the door stands what

¹ I wish we could exhibit the instrument which (perhaps *longo intervallo*) it has replaced. In 1820 the Vestry decided that it was “very desirable to obtain a *Barrelled Organ* for the Church of this parish, and that the sum of £150 will be required to purchase one of sufficient dimensions to suit it.” The present Organ has been added to from time to time.

² Page 136.

was formerly the Credence. The porphyry shaft is modern, but the base and the capital are antient work. Of the Registers contained in the Iron Safe, and of our Church Plate therein, I shall speak later on. Over the doorway is a stone, rescued from the Churchyard at the time of the removal of the mound,¹ bearing the inscription—

W. P.

W. D.

C^H.W^R.

1710

On turning to the “Book of Marketts and Faires,” we find that the Churchwardens of that year were *William Parkyn* and *William Davey*, so that we are left in no doubt as to the persons who are here immortalized. And here is a curious and instructive circumstance : A.D. 1710 is precisely the year in which complaint is made that the Churchwardens “have in many ways overcharged the parish,”² so that in our long history, down to 1866, the only Church officials whose memory is perpetuated in enduring stone or brass are just those whose character and example are least to be commended. “Which things are an allegory.” How much of worldly fame is of this order ! I suspect that this stone was a part of Messrs. Parykn’s and Davey’s extravagances. Now let us proceed to the

CHANCEL.³

The REREDOS of alabaster, with effigies of the four evangelists in Venetian mosaic, was originally constructed by Mr. Earp,

¹ See page 136.² See p. 101.

³ With a sublime ignorance of architecture and its periods, Hitchins and Drew (p. 43) engage to show that the Chancel must be older than the Nave, etc., because, “if the building had been found too small for the congregation,” it is absurd to suppose that “such a miserable patch would have been added to the superb workmanship and elegant appearance of the Church . . . with the beauty of which its deformity may be justly contrasted.” I quote this as a literary curiosity.

at the restoration of 1870, but it was so dwarfed, to meet the wishes of the then Incumbent, who objected to any encroachment on the space occupied by the East Window, that it lent no dignity either to Church or Chancel. It was therefore enlarged and much adorned (by Luscombe and Son), under the direction of Messrs. J. P. St. Aubyn and Wadling, in 1890, the cost being defrayed by Mrs. Arthur Coode, as a memorial to her brother, the Rev. W. K. Mott, of Wall, Lichfield. The East Window is of Munich glass, and was erected to the memory of Mr. Philip Wheeler, a Clay Merchant of this town, and a prominent Churchman. The East Wall was illuminated in 1891 as a memorial to the late Mr. John Coode, of Polcarne, and his daughter, Evelyn Carey, at the expense of his widow and surviving children—a brass behind the pier next to the organ refers to this gift. The work was carried out by Messrs. Fouracre and Watson, of Stonehouse, Plymouth, from Mr. Prynne's designs. The two panels, the one representing the Nativity, the other the LORD'S Supper, were painted by Mr. E. A. Fellowes Prynne, the architect's brother, the idea underlying them being the Incarnation, and the extension of the Incarnation through the Sacraments—He Who took *our* flesh gave *His* flesh for the life of the world : "The Son of GOD became the Son of Man that we the sons of men might become the sons of GOD."¹ The painting of the side walls and the decoration of the roof, including the illuminated oaken arch, were done at the same time by the same firm, and under the same direction. The carved angels supporting the arch were the gift of Mr. H. S. Hancock. The beginning of all this chaste and elaborate decoration was an anonymous gift of £100 presented to the Vicar to make a

¹ The face of the Virgin has been much admired, but that of Joseph has been thought to be somewhat suggestive of Lord Salisbury.

beginning.¹ And I think it may now—in June, 1896—be said that our Chancel is practically finished, the work of former years having been crowned by the recent introduction of carved oak choir stalls—Mr. Prynne was the designer; the work was executed by Mr. J. Northcott, of Ashwater, Devon; the cost was £245—and new tiles and marble steps. The *Sacrarium* was undertaken by Miss S. P. Martyn (now Mrs. A. Hitchins), of Clynton, in memory of her father, Mr. Richard U. Martyn—to whom a tablet has also been erected on the South wall of the Church; the tiles of the rest of the Chancel are the gift of Mr. William Coode, of Trevarna, and the black and red marble steps have been contributed by Mrs. Nancollas, as a memorial to her husband, the late Mr. Christopher Nancollas. It will be observed that the very colours of the marbles are here (as elsewhere) symbolical—the black, of sin; the red, of redemption; the white, of purity. To this it only remains to add that the piers on the North side of the Chancel are of Duporth beach stone, and those on the South side of Polrudden—Hitchins (“a primrose by the river’s brim,” etc.) pronounces these pillars to be “low, large, irregular and clumsy”; that there is an ancient *piscina*, now used as a credence²; that the Processional Cross, of brass and ebony, with bosses of crystal, was given in 1895; that the handsome festival Altar-cloth was presented by Mrs. A. Coode in 1894, whilst other frontals have been worked by Mrs. William Coode and other ladies; that the violet cloth for Advent and Lent

¹ It has been stated in a recent compilation (*The History of St. Austell*, 1893) that this was the gift of a lady. I may perhaps go so far as to say, without any breach of confidence, that this was not the case. It is further stated that during my incumbency the sum of “£10,000 has been spent on the repair, renovation and adornment of the Parish Church.” This is altogether too flattering. However, the same writer elsewhere reduces this generous estimate to £1,920, which, though not adequate, is much nearer the mark.

² “In many instances the place of the credence table was supplied by a shelf across the piscina.” Parker, p. 80.

was given anonymously in 1883, and that in the clergy vestry behind the Organ hangs a sumptuous banner, reproducing our pelican, the work of Mrs. S. Roberts. The oak lectern was the gift of the Rev. F. B. Paul. The recessed arch of the East window is, I believe, somewhat of an architectural feature.¹ Now we proceed to the

CHAPEL OF ST. MICHAEL,²

long known locally as the *Lady Chapel*; a former vergers used carefully to explain that it was called the "Ladies' Chapel, because the ladies of the town preferred to sit there"!³ Here is, unfortunately, but little deserving of notice, though it is by far the oldest part of the edifice—the thickness of the walls indicates by itself an earlier date, for this was a feature of Norman architecture. On the North side, in the corner, is an *ALMERY* (*i.e.*, place for the *alms*), formerly, no doubt, fitted with doors and used as a locker to contain the sacred vessels.⁴ Another piscina will be found at the South-East angle; this chapel had, of course, its separate altar. Of the *MONUMENTS*, the first as we enter is to the memory of John Graves, Esq., Rear-Admiral R.N., who died in 1811⁵; the

¹ Hitchins speaks of a "monumental stone"—"between the pulpit and the Communion table"—with the date *One Thousand* in Arabic numerals, which were only introduced in 991. I am glad to say that this imposture, if ever it existed, has disappeared.

² It should be remembered in connection with the dedication of this Chapel to St. Michael the Archangel, that it was antiently believed that this prince of GOD had appeared on St. Michael's Mount. William of Worcester gives—or professes to give—the dates.

³ Similarly, "Our Lady's Well" at Mevagissey has been known in later days as "My Lady's Well." *Ancient and Holy Wells*, p. 113. One is reminded of the lady who spoke of Hannah's Bampton Lectures as "Hannah Bampton's Lectures."

⁴ In some larger Churches these are found in various parts of the building, and they were occasionally as large as closets.

⁵ The concluding lines of a brief poem, setting forth the virtues of the deceased, are these—

"Merit he noticed!—knavery he scorned!

To humble worth a friend!—to rogues a thorn!"

next is to Mary Sawle, who died in 1803, and with whom the long line of Sawles, dating (it is said) from the conquest,¹ became extinct; or rather, I should say, the estates passed, through Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Sawle, of Barley House, Devon, and wife of Admiral Graves, to her son, Mr. Joseph Sawle Graves, who afterwards (in 1815) assumed the name of Sawle, and was created a baronet in 1836.² The "Sarcophagus," as it has been called, a black funeral urn (suggestive of cinerary ashes) resting on a square marble pedestal, is to the memory of Joseph Sawle, Esq., of Penrice (died 1737) and John Sawle (died 1783); the monument above it—to another Joseph Sawle—goes back to 1715. The East window of this aisle does not exactly command universal admiration, though the multifoil in the gable above it is worthy of notice. It is to Edward Coode, Esq. (*obit* 1845) and Dorothy his wife (died 1848), and to Edward Coode, their son, who died in 1865. Of the South windows, that to the East (to Mary, widow of Edward Coode the younger) is by Clayton and Bell; the middle window (to Mr. Robert Dunn; the adjoining brass commemorates his widow) is by Mayer of Munich; the third (to Mr. William Shilson) is by Suffling. A small brass plate in the wall informs us that hard by is the vault of the Sawle family. Over the doorway is a tablet to the memory of Mr. Thomas Jones, a lawyer, whose name will come before us again.³ It was proposed some years

I may perhaps be allowed to say that if the stories told of him are true, his son, afterwards Sir Joseph Graves Sawle, Bart., inherited the worthy Admiral's mantle. It is said that being once in Ireland, at the house of a magistrate who had to deal with a poacher—or a "rogue" of some kind—Sir Joseph was consulted as to what should be done. The force of habit came out in the prompt reply, "Send him to *Bodmin*! Give him six months!"

¹ See Chap. xv.

² Wallis, *Cornwall Register*, p. 443. Bodmin: 1847.

³ The tablet states that Mr. Jones "retired to *Trinity*." This is another name for Restormel Castle. "Mr. Richard Sawle sold the lease of Restormell to Thos. Jones,

ago to adapt this "chapel of St. Michael" for use as a "morn-ing chapel," and a lady of the town generously offered to bear the expense, but the project encountered some opposition, and was therefore abandoned, or adjourned. No opposition, how-ever, would be raised to any cheerful giver who undertook to decorate the roofs and walls of this antient sanctuary, and the improvement in the appearance of the whole Church would be prodigious. Now we pass into the South aisle. The door adjoining the "Priests' door" leads by a winding stair to the rood-loft of former days; so does a similar door near the stove. The feature of this part of the Church is the

STAINED GLASS,

the four windows, which only cost £660, being the work of E. R. Suffling and Co., of London. The first, representing the *Last Supper*, aims, as indeed do the rest, at *instruction*; we have called the Church a book in stone, and it has seemed to me that our glass should not be the least edifying of its pages; they also are devoted, like so much of our carving, to the subject of the Passion. The chalice under our LORD's hand is a copy of the old chalices¹ still used in the celebration of Holy Communion. The grapes overhead are introduced in accordance with an idea that some such cluster may have suggested the words, "I am the true vine."² Judas is seen grasping the bag, and on the table near his elbow stands a salt-cellar not yet overturned, as in Leonardo da Vinci's fresco. On the ground will be observed an ewer, basin and towel, reminding us of the recent washing of the disciples' feet; also some inscribed scrolls, suggesting that they will presently be

Esq." So I read in the anonymous work, *Lostwithiel and Restormell*, which also informs me that the Communion Plate belonging to St. Bartholomew's Church was the gift of Thomas Jones, Esq., in 1775. He was buried at St. Austell.

¹ See Chap. xi.

² St. John xv. 1.

used in the singing of the "hymn"¹ before they go to the Mount of Olives.² This window has a curious history. It was inserted during his lifetime by Mr. Thomas Drew, of Rock, near Padstow, a native of this town, and donor of one of the panels in the pulpit, but it was not until his death in 1891 that it was known who had given it. The next window represents *Our LORD before Caiaphas*. I am afraid it must be admitted that the desire to make it instructive has somewhat spoiled its effectiveness; it is perhaps too crowded. The lamp and the stars remind us that it was then night; our SAVIOUR'S hands, according to an old tradition, are pictured as tied behind his back. To the right are seen in the distance St. Peter warming himself before the fire, the maid-servant and the cock. As stated in the brass below, it is to the memory of Bishop Colenso, a native of St. Austell (born in 1814) and baptized (in 1827) in our Church. It expresses, it need hardly be said, no sort of sympathy with the Bishop's peculiar views, as may be gathered from the fact that his episcopate is not even referred to.³ The next of the series pictures *Our LORD before Pilate*, and is to the memory of Juliana, wife of Mr. Thomas Graves Sawle. The sacred hands are still bound,

¹ The "Great Hallel," Psalms cxiii.—cxviii.

² St. Matt. xxvi. 30.

³ And as little does it contain a sly hit at his theology, in the words, "He hath spoken blasphemy," which words were, in fact, chosen by the artist. And we have only to remember against Whom that charge of blasphemy was brought! I cannot forbear, however, citing here the epigram penned on Dr. Colenso's instantaneous conversion—

"A Bishop there was of Natal,
Who took a Zulu for his pal;
Said the Kaffir, 'Look here!
Ain't the Pentateuch queer?'
And converted that lord of Natal."

Yet Colenso deserves to be commemorated, not only because of his eminence as a mathematician and as a friend of the native races, but because of his indomitable pluck and perseverance, and his honesty. He was heavily weighted in his start in life, by having to help to support his family, and his life as an usher at Dartmouth and a sizar at St. John's College, Cambridge, was hard to severity. He died June 20th, 1883.

but in front, and they now hold the reed. Pilate's movable judgment-seat is placed on "the pavement." A page prepares the basin of water. The priests stand and vehemently accuse our SAVIOUR.¹ The fourth window, inserted in 1889, is peculiarly appropriate to its position near the font, for its cost was defrayed by the contributions of persons baptized thereat, or by their friends, and moreover, "it doth represent unto us our profession," made in Baptism, which is to carry the cross after CHRIST.² It pictures to us the *Via Dolorosa*; we see the procession issuing from the city gate—going "without the camp"; the women lamenting our LORD; Simon the Cyrenian carrying the cross; the Roman centurion with his *vitis*, the emblem of his office; CHRIST with a halter round His waist; in the distance, going before, the malefactors, etc. It will be observed that these windows, like the shields on the other side of the wall, form a series. The idea was that they should serve as a sort of Stations of the Cross, leading up to a picture of the Crucifixion, which it is hoped some day to put into the great West window, which seems marked out for that subject by its size.

The door opposite the font leads to the Parvise or Priest's Chamber already referred to. Probably the archives of the Church, or the vestments were kept here³—before 1886 the Church had no vestry. Among the tablets on the adjoining wall is one to *Samuel Drew*, a native of St. Austell, author of a work on the *Immortality of the Soul*, and Editor of *Hitchin's History of Cornwall*, a work to which I have occasionally referred. Mr. Drew, who died in 1833, was a worthy man, who

¹ St. Luke xxiii. 10.

² St. Luke ix. 23.

³ This room may have served as a study, or one of the clergy may even have slept here. In some cases "the room over the porch contains a piscina, which shows that it once contained an altar, and was used as a Chapel; it is occasionally provided with a fireplace, as if it had served for a dwelling-room." Parker, p. 206.

did not "stick to his last," but deserted it for philosophy, for which he was hardly qualified, and for history, for which he was even less so.¹ Another name immortalized here is that of *Ralph Allen*,² a native of St. Blazey Gate—his mother was Mary Elliott, of St. Austell; she married John Allen on Feb. 10th, 1687. Ralph Allen's career was so remarkable that I



*The infirmities of 66
are coming on me.
Samuel Drew.*

digress for a moment to record a few particulars. His father kept a small inn, the "Duke William" or "Old Duke," at

¹ "It cannot be said that his arguments show more than a strong mind, quite unversed in the literature of the subject. He appears to have been a very honourable and independent man, strongly attached to his family and energetic as a preacher and writer." *Dictionary of National Biography*. A list of Drew's writings is to be seen in the *Bibliotheca Cornubiensis*.

² In a tablet to Richard Elliott, of Polmear, and Gertrude his widow, Ralph Allen's sister. She died in 1789, at the age of 92.

St. Blazey Highway; his grandmother kept the St. Columb Post Office. Whilst staying with her, the lad attracted the favourable notice of a P.O. inspector, who got him an appointment in the Bath office. Here he had the good fortune to detect a plot for introducing arms into the city in connexion with a Jacobite rising. Promoted to be deputy Postmaster, he devised a system of cross posts for carrying letters—at that time a letter from Bath to Birmingham must go *via* London—which he farmed himself, with the result that from 1720 to 1764 his profits averaged £12,000 a year—in all over half a million. This lucrative business qualified him for marriage with a Miss Earl, a natural daughter of General Wade; it also enabled him to equip at his own expense a *corps* of Bath volunteers. Nor was it his only success. At the Combe Down quarries, near Bath, he employed a large number of men, who added still further to his income, so that in 1736 he began the erection of a mansion (using, of course, his own stone) at Prior Park, which was seven years in process of building, and he it was, too, who erected "Sham Castle." His many undertakings and his princely generosity—he was especially good to impecunious literary men—won for him the name of "the man of Bath," of which city he was once Mayor and always manager—hence its Municipal Council was spoken of as the "one-headed corporation." He is the Squire Allworthy of Fielding's *Tom Jones*; there is also a reference to him, comparing him to the "man of Ross," in *Joseph Andrews*—"one Al——, Al——, I forget his name," whilst this author's *Amelia* is dedicated to him. Pope has immortalized him in the familiar lines—

"Let humble Allen, with an awkward shame,

Do good by stealth, and blush to find it fame,"

and in a letter to Dr. Doddridge (Feb. 4th, 1742-3) speaks of

him thus—"In a word, I believe him to have been sent by Providence into the world to teach men what blessings they might expect from Heaven, would they study to deserve them." Allen also became allied to Bishop Warburton, who married his favourite niece, Gertrude Tucker. He was an intimate friend and great admirer of Pitt, to whom he bequeathed £1,000 in his will. Pope left Allen £150, "being to the best of my calculation," he says, "the account of what I have received from him." Allen's own calculations, however, showed a very different result. "He forgot to add the other 0," he observed quietly, "to the £150," and he sent the money to the Bath Hospital. He gave away £1,000 a year, and among other things cased the exterior of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, in Smithfield, with his Bath stone. He died in 1764.¹ But our attention is now demanded by the

FONT,

which is justly considered one of the features—it is certainly one of the ornaments—of the Church. The bowl is sculptured with "gorgons and hydras and chimæras dire"—Drew (or Hitchins: one never knows which is responsible) says "crocodiles and owls"²—probably symbolical of the powers of evil renounced at Baptism. On one side, and that the *East*, is a branching plant, which may speak of "newness of life," or of "the fruits of righteousness"—observe the stone bosses on either side of the leaf³—for with the

¹ I am indebted for many of these particulars to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and for some to Tregellas's *Cornish Worthies*.

² He also sagely observes that the font is "generally considered to be of *Saxon* workmanship" (p. 46).

³ Mr. Iago suggests Hosea xiv. 5, "His branches shall spread," etc., as interpreting this device. Similarly, he cites Psalm lxxiv. 13, "Thou brakest the heads of the dragons in the waters," as explaining the sea monsters. In the Bodmin font, dragons, knotted snakes, etc., are pictured on the East and North sides, whilst on the South and West are

architects and builders of old, everything had a meaning: even the five feet—four columns surrounding the central support, are supposed to symbolize the five wounds.¹ The faces on the capitals of the four columns are, however, not striking, and they have a modern look; one writer has taken them for monks; others see in them the four evangelists. The visitor will observe that the bowl is large enough, as antient



From a Drawing by the Author.

masses of foliage. At Lostwithiel, on the South side is a Bishop's mitred head; on the North, an ape's, surrounded with snakes. I much deplore that our font does not appear in the *Illustrations of Baptismal Fonts*—perhaps because it is so like that of Bodmin. No one realizes how varied and beautiful our fonts are who has not seen this or a similar book.

¹ "The architect is nothing, if he be not a preacher. The great architects of old have been among GOD's greatest prophets and preachers. . . . He did not waste a stroke of his chisel upon it [the font] for nothing. . . . Nothing is done for mere ornament in the Church of the living GOD." Bp. Gott, *Church in the West*, Vol. xiii., p. 656.

fonts always were, to admit of the baptism of infants by immersion. "By a constitution of Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury (A.D. 1236), fonts were required to be covered and *locked*,"¹ and it is only recently, as the stonework shows, that the staples to confine the cover have been removed at St. Austell—our font cover, it should be said, is of quite recent date (1870). Fonts were to be locked "because people were in the habit of carrying away the baptismal water for use in magical rites."² Nor am I prepared to say that all superstitious ideas with respect to the baptismal water have died out in this county, notwithstanding the comparative neglect with which baptism is now treated. Here, as elsewhere, extremes meet. Mr. Wilkie Collins³ tells of one of our villages where a small farmer died, as was supposed, of English cholera. As four weeks later his wife married again, suspicion was excited, and the body was exhumed; the stomach was found to contain arsenic enough to kill three men. The wife was tried for murder and was hanged. Soon there sprang up stories of a ghost; she was said to haunt her husband's grave. But another circumstance excited even greater attention. Hard by the Church was a gifted well from which the font was filled for christenings, and it was a firm belief in the village that no child baptized with that water could be hung. Had then the tradition been disproved by the hanging of this farmer's wife? The register was anxiously searched, and great was the rejoicing when it was discovered that she had been baptized elsewhere. The

¹ Parker, p. 119. The Accounts of St. Lawrence, Reading, contain this entry under the year 1508—"Payd for a padlock to the font . . . iijd."

² "Many of our mediæval fonts show where the hinges and staples for the lock were formerly fastened." In Kerry's *History of St. Giles's, Reading*, we find this item among the accounts of the year 1508—"Pay'd for a padlock to the font . . . iijd."

³ In his *Rambles beyond Railways* (1851), p. 85.

water now became in greater estimation and request than ever, and bottles of it were exported to other parishes for baptismal use. With the font, our perambulation of the Church concludes. But I shall ask the reader to return with me to the Vestry, to begin the examination of our Registers.

CHAPTER IX.

OUR REGISTERS.

THE reader who has no connexion with our town, or who never weeps when a funeral sermon is preached for a non-parishioner, will, I daresay, be sorely tempted to skip this chapter, as dealing with dry and musty records with which he has no concern whatever. I venture to think, however, that he will find it, if he will give me a patient hearing, at least as interesting and instructive as any of its predecessors—I assume that these have afforded him *some* degree of entertainment. It is quite true that our own Registers are unfortunately little more than lists of St. Austell names, records of the “rude forefathers of the hamlet,”¹ each baptism and burial but a *nominis umbra*,² but even these, when carefully studied, reveal a good deal more of interest to the stranger that is within our gates, than he would at first

¹ Bishop White Kennet, of Peterborough, about 1720 advised his clergy to enter in their Registers, not merely the day and year of a christening or a marriage, but also, as opportunity offered, particulars of the times and seasons, such as storms, pestilences, excessive mortality, etc. “If such things,” he said, “were fairly entered, the parish Registers would become chronicles of many strange occurrences.” How much more ample the materials for our local histories would be had this wise counsel been anticipated, or even generally followed from that day.

² “The mossy marbles rest
On the lips that he has pressed,
In their bloom ;
And the names he loved to hear
Have been writ for many a year
On the tomb.”

imagine, and when compared with and illustrated by contemporary records, they will be found to contain a mine of information.¹

Our St. Austell Registers begin with the year 1564, the sixth year of good Queen Bess. There are, however, at least 820 register books which go back to an earlier date. There are eight in the country anterior to the year 1538, whilst 812 began with that year; the keeping of registers of births, deaths, and marriages, as we shall hear presently, was then commanded by royal authority.

This seems a long time ago, and any writing of such a remote period can only be regarded with veneration. Still, it is strange that we have nothing older—I mean that the keeping of such records was so long neglected in England and throughout Europe, for the public registration of births and deaths, as Mr. Waters observes, was a feature of civilization common to Jews, Greeks and Romans.² It was not, however, till the closing years of the fifteenth century that any systematic registration was attempted in Christendom. It began in Spain, and owed its introduction to Cardinal Ximenes, then Archbishop of Toledo. He directed registers to be kept of those baptized and of *their sponsors*—which reveals to us the object of this early registration. It was to prevent unauthorized marriages; for the Church regarded godfathers and godmothers as of kin with those for whom they answered in Baptism.

In England, registration, not of baptisms alone, but also of

¹ I may mention here two works which I have read with singular pleasure, and to which I am greatly indebted, *Our Parish Books and what they tell us*, by Mr. J. Meadows Cowper, and *Parish Registers in England*, by Mr. R. E. Chester Waters. The latter is, I believe, out of print, for which additional reason I have borrowed from it the more copiously.

² "The public registers at Sparta and Athens were as old as Lycurgus and Solon. At Rome, Marcus Aurelius required all persons to deliver to the Imperial treasury an account of their children within thirty days of their birth." Waters, p. 1.

marriages and deaths, was projected and announced in 1536, the first year of the rule of Thomas Cromwell as Vicar-General.¹ The project, however, encountered considerable opposition—the people saw in it the beginning of a new tax—and for two years it remained dormant. But on Sep. 29th, 1538, the parish clergy were required by royal injunction to begin their lists. A fine of 3s. 4d.—the money to be devoted to the Church—was to be levied on the Curate for every omission of which he was guilty.²

We have seen that some eight hundred registers, begun at this date, still survive, in one shape or other. How many more were commenced, the records of which have perished, no one can say. It would seem as if registration was pretty generally adopted, for in 1555 Cardinal Pole directed that the names of *godparents* should be added in the baptismal lists, as in Italy and Spain.³ And it is to be feared that many of the earlier registers may not have been preserved, for they were on paper, and they would be exposed to damp and mildew. Accordingly, Queen Elizabeth, on her accession in 1558, made some provision for their better custody—possibly her zeal for the *preservation* of these documents suggested to the then Vicar—one Hamund Hansert—that it was high time he had something to preserve. Anyhow, he or Robert Bracker, who

¹ Waters suggests that he may have seen in the Low Countries the baptismal registers of the Spanish clergy.

² Waters quotes a letter of Sir Piers Edgcumbe—the date is April 20th, 1539—saying that in Cornwall and Devonshire this new ordinance was regarded with much fear and distrust, and asking what was to be done. We have an indirect testimony to this state of disquiet in the royal proclamation of 1548, which forbade the clergy to preach without a license therefor, the reason assigned being that the popish preachers represented that the King intended strange exactions, and that half-a-crown was to be charged on all marriages, christenings or burials.

³ Waters, who states, p. 8, that the custom of entering the names of *godparents* in the register was retained in the parish of St. Nicholas, Newcastle-on-Tyne, down to the beginning of the present century.

succeeded him in 1563, presently began them, if he had not begun them before. Forty years later, at a Synod of the Province of Canterbury—a Meeting of Convocation, in fact—held on October 25th, 1597, as is recorded in the first pages of our earliest book, a new injunction was made, which was presently approved by the Queen under the Great Seal, requiring each parish to provide a *parchment* book,¹ into which all the paper registers were to be *copied*. Every minister at his institution was to subscribe to this undertaking, “I shall keep the register book according to the Queen’s Majesty’s instructions.” Each page of the book was to be certified at its foot by the signatures of the Incumbent and the Churchwardens. In our case, this was never done. The *first* page is signed “R. May, Vicar, Austle,” but in succeeding pages down to 1660 even this much is absent, whilst there are no signatures of Churchwardens.² These attestations to the copy have led to some ludicrous mistakes—people have imagined that these signatures represented one incumbency—as to the longevity of the clergy of that century. Thus Duncomb (cited by Waters, p. 10) says, in his *History of Herefordshire*, that “Rob^t. Barnes was Vicar of Bromyard for 82 years, as his name appears, etc. . . . and one of his Churchwardens filled that office from 1538 to 1600”!

¹ This was not always provided. At Littleham, Devon, complaint was made in 1599 that the Register Book of Baptisms, etc., was in paper, not parchment, as prescribed by the Canon. So at St. Winnow, in 1607: “They want a pewter pott; they want a register booke in parchmente.”

² At the foot of a page of weddings (A.D. 1607) are two names, “W^m. Hunnywill” and “Abell Carlyon,” but they are in the same handwriting, so that both cannot be signatures. Similarly, across a page of funerals of 1623-4, are the names—in the same illiterate hand, so that they cannot both be autographs—of Thomas Baker and John Trefry. I take these latter to represent the Churchwardens of that day. In a void space later on in the book, where the burials of 1628 should be, I read, “W^m. Hunnywill was burried the 18th September, 1647.” I suspect that he was Parish Clerk. The Gulval Registers are signed by R. Veale; those of St. Columb (from 1604) by the Curate, and later, by the Churchwardens also.

Another writer states that the Vicar of Keyham served his cure for 92 years, and had the same Churchwardens for 70 years ! The 70th Canon of 1603 directs this parchment book to be kept in a "sure coffer, with three locks and keys," and requires entries to be made by the minister only, in the presence of the Churchwardens. None of these provisions, however, appear to have been observed in our remote parish ; indeed, Lord Eldon declared that not one register in a hundred had been kept according to the Canon.¹ Certainly the book was not always guarded in the "sure coffer," for we have a curious entry on her own account made by the minister's little daughter. On a blank page about the middle of the book we stumble on the following unecclesiastical entry, in a very creditable hand, but written upside down—

"Upon a tyme a countrey mouse

That in A cave did live

Unto a thottless city mouse

Did entertainment give.

GRACE MAYE ; her writhing."

Here and there, too, a page is scribbled, as if by one trying a new pen. And if the minister made all the entries himself, I can only say that he wrote a surprising variety of hands. Nor was the rule as to entries in the presence of the Wardens much better observed. For example, we learn from the Exeter archives that Mr. Richard Parson, Curate of Aishperton (Ashburton), was "presented," "for that he doth not *everie Sondaie* in the *presence of the Wardens* sett down the names in the *Registre booke* of such as are wedded, christnd and purified." (Reynolds, p. 209.) The "Tythes Book" of Ralph Maye, of which much will be heard later on, contains a list of the baptisms at St. Austell in 1620. They have all been entered in the Church

¹ Waters, p. 86.

Register, but with some discrepancies as to names and dates.¹ Our books from 1696 onward are not of parchment, but paper—*quis custodiet ipsos custodes?* Some of the old registers inform us as to the amount paid for them. At St. Margaret's, Westminster, the cost—this was in 1538, and for a paper book—was 2d. At Leverton, Lincs., according to the Churchwardens' Accounts for 1599, vijs. was "paid for parchment for the newe Register booke," and xiijs. iiijd. "for makeing and writtinge therein, baptizemige, marryage and burials." At St. Michael's, Bishop Stortford, under 1598, we read, "Pd. for the register booke in parchment with my charges caring for it, xvijjs.; pd. for wryting and Regestiring in the same booke all the christenings marriage and buryalls, xjs." Sometimes the register preserves the name of the copyist. That of Loughborough, for example, "begynnyng according to the commandment of our Sovereign Lord King Henry VIII." on Nov. 1st, 1538, reads as follows—"John Dawsons, the Sonne of Henry Dawsons did coppye and writte oute this booke out of the ould paper booke when he was at the age of Threscore and one yeares and at that tyme had beyne Schoolm^r of the Grammer Scoole in Loughborowe xxxvj yeares. And in his tyme Toughte and brought up many Scollers, Gentelmen, men of Worshipp, Justices of Peace and pooremen's sonns, profitable to the Church of God, Precherrs and ministers," etc.² Waters informs us (p. 9) that in some few instances the original paper books are still extant, and that they are, as a rule, *fuller* than the copy—the copyist, of course, wanted to save himself trouble; sometimes, too, he had religious

¹ At Madron, it was clearly the custom to enter Baptisms, etc., in batches of a year or more. When a new hand appears, it is at the beginning of a new year.

² In the Churchwardens' Accounts for 1598 we find, "Item, paid for writtinge the Register Booke xvjd." They managed things more economically here than at Bishop Stortford.

scruples.¹ At Stratton, in 1562, vjd. was "paid m^r offycyal to schow our Regester boke att the vycytacyon," and a like sum "to m^r vycar for taken owtt of ye names"—the former entry points clearly to an inspection of these records. I fear it must be admitted that as a rule our registers have been but indifferently kept—this has certainly been the case at St. Austell. Sometimes there are great gaps; I shall mention most of these as they occur. Occasionally these gaps can be easily accounted for, as during the Commonwealth, when registration was taken out of the hands of the clergy, but it is to be feared that others are due to carelessness or neglect—the memoranda were lost, or the Curate was idle or incompetent. We find that at Bishop Stortford, for example, "a period of nineteen years was allowed to elapse before the memoranda of the various christenings, marriages and deaths were entered into the parchment book."² At St. Peter's, Dorchester, this entry was made in the register—"In twelve months there died fifty-two persons whose names are not inserted, *the old clerk being dead who had the notes.*" At Meopham, Kent, we find this—"In the daies of Mr. James Day, Vicar of Meopham, for fyve yers space none were registered"; at Hindringham, Norfolk, things were infinitely worse, for under date of Dec. 9th, 1782, we read, "Register of baptisms and burials from 1749 and of marriages from 1747 neglected by Mr. Hemington, Curate, *to this day*"—that is to say, for thirty-five years. At Staindrop it was recorded that from 1644-6, "through want of a minister and carelessness of ye

¹ He gives these among other instances: St. Dunstan's West, "1560-1, Feb. 17, Mr. Rithe buried." The paper book adds, "A benchar of Lyncolnes Yne, buryed out of the newe brycke byldyng." At Staplehurst, Kent, a prayer for the dead—"Whose sowle JESU pardon. Amen"—is omitted.

² *Records of St. Michael's Parish Church, Bishop Stortford*, p. 107. Edited by J. L. Glasscock, junr., London, 1882.

Cleark during the wars, much of the Register is lost." And here is a curious thing in connection with our neighbouring parish of St. Ewe. At the present time (1895-6) it is without a sexton, because the parishioners—whatever the reason may be—decline to provide the funds. But St. Ewe is only true to its former self, for in 1677, as the register records, "The Parishioners refusing to allow 5s. *per annum* for keeping a register, there was none kept for the years 1675-6-7; only these two baptisms were put down by me, Joseph May, clerk."¹ It was not always the Vicar, however, who was to blame. "Of all the incapables," says Mr. Meadows Cowper, "who have undertaken to keep parish registers, the Puritans must, I think, be allowed to have won 'the silver bell.'"² Nor was it always the Parish Clerk; a scribe was often employed to make the entries—"the three Vicars" of Holy Cross, Westgate, Canterbury, according to Mr. Cowper, "in Charles the Second's time, all left the registers to the care of subordinates." At Bishop Stortford, in 1649, one Thomas Barnard was paid 12s. for writing the registers "wth in 11 or 12 yeares last past." What the spelling was like when the clerk officiated passes belief; it was simply too excruciating; we shall hear of some instances in our own records presently.³ Sometimes, too, entries were made which, if not scandalous, are little short of it. Here is one of the former class, at Bitteswell, Leicestershire, in 1638 :

¹ I am indebted to Mr. Waters for these three extracts.

² *Our Parish Records*, p. 12, Appendix. Mr. Waters, however, affirms (p. 17) that the register books of the Commonwealth period were kept exceptionally well, but are often missing, as the clergy failed to get possession of them on resuming their livings.

³ See above, p. 71. Here are a few samples from the North of England, embalmed in the *Chronicon Mirabile*. "A poore man having a decease in a legg." [But this was matched quite recently in the West. I was inquiring of a College porter about a Cornish squire, how he was getting on, when I received for answer, "He's diseased" /] Again, "John Elleson, kild by *axsidence*." And once again, "The *Whakers* Meeting house." And finally, John Rogers is described as *Seggerston*—he had attended nine ministers in that capacity.

" Mary Snelson is stark naught, stinking naught. *Blot not this.*" At Shillingstone, Dorset, again, it is recorded that on Jan. 1st, 1742, David Pitman and Mary Haskell, " a rogue and a whore," were married. At Hart, among the baptisms, " William, son to John Armstrong . . . being base begotten with his own ante," and among the burials, " Margaret Herisone, being with child to her unkle's prentis " (April 10th, 1643). At St. Peter's in the East, Oxford, among the burials is found that of " Alice, the wife of (a naughtie fellow whose name is) Mathew Manne " —poor Alice, what she may have endured at his hands ! at Hesledon (1st January, 1663), " Isbell Ellenir, an olde, lame, impident¹ woman " (*Chron. Mirab.*) ; and at Kyloe, Northumberland, under 1696, is recorded the interment of Henry, son of Henry Watson, " who lived to the age of 36 yeare, and was so great a fooll that he never could put on his own close, nor never went a quarter of a mile off ye house in all this space."² Of the many and diversified entries respecting illegitimate children I shall have something to say later on. But let us now, after this long, but I hope neither unnecessary nor uninteresting introduction, address ourselves to our

FIRST BOOK,

which extends from 1564 to 1631. It is, as already intimated, of parchment, and is strongly bound in oak and leather, profusely stamped or embossed with images of Faith, Hope

¹ Preb. Hingeston Randolph suggests that this is not scandalous, but merely a misspelling of " impotent."

² Waters, pp. 45-47. " Innocent," or *insipiens* is often used to denote imbeciles. At St. Helen's Auckland we find " Edward Wright, the lawyer, was buried. ' Woe unto you lawyers, for,' etc., etc. And it is hardly respectful to describe Mrs. Dongworth, who in 1779 was buried in Durham Cathedral, as an " old virgin." The same may be said of " Deafe Sibbe," buried at Bishop Auckland in 1615. But " Brian Pearson, the Abbey dog-whipper," was a respectable official—there were many such in England. When Churches stood open all day, it needed someone to expel intruding animals.

and Charity.¹ It is written in a neat court hand down to the beginning of 1599, after which it is, for the most part, abominably kept. No burials are entered, for example, from 1605 to 1608,² and many of the entries of other years are barely legible. The Christian name of the child baptized or person buried is occasionally omitted, or that of the father or mother, or the day of the 'month: in 1604 a line is left for the insertion of a baptism.³ Of thirty-six interments in 1583, six—all being children—have no name, though a space is left for its insertion. The Marriages came first, then the Baptisms, then the Burials. Down to 1625 all the entries are in Latin; Mr. Waters gives the accession of Charles I. as the date before which Latin entries were generally discontinued.⁴ I find, however, that a great

¹ It was re-bound—at a cost of £3 5s.—by Zaehnsdorf, in 1895. It is as well that posterity should know the sacrifices we have made for it.

² Nor are there any in 1574; no weddings in 1575 (it is just possible there were none: only two are entered under '77 and '86.) A vacant page is left for the weddings of 1628, but they were never inserted. There are no baptisms entered under the years 1573-4-5. A vacant space is left for the baptisms of 1607. Seven of the baptisms of 1617 have no Christian name entered, and in one case "Rosea" has been supplied in different ink. Of the baptisms of 1628, only those in the month of April and two in October were entered—a vacant page still awaits the rest. The funerals of 1627-8 are obviously imperfect—there are but two entered in the latter year. It will be observed that all these irregularities cluster round three periods. 1574 is given in the Composition Book as the first year of Daniel Neyland. In 1607, R. Maye had been Vicar for 23 years; he died in 1623, but his successor was appointed in 1621. In 1628, Joseph Maye was Vicar. He was also Vicar of St. Neot.

³ Our registers, though they give few or no details and particulars—down to 1757 they are bare lists of names, neither ages nor trades are recorded—yet are not quite so brief as some entries found elsewhere. Mr. Cowper has collected the following from the burials of Holy Cross, Westgate, Canterbury—1563, "A mayde servant buried"; 1569, "Adrian buried"; "Alice a wyddowe buried"; 1572, "A souldyar out of Fraunce buried"; "Elizabeth, a lytle mayde, buried"; 1578, "Agnes, an olde mayde buried"; 1715, "A way-going Boy buried." Canterbury, however, was a thoroughfare, and all sorts and conditions passed through it, including many foreigners.

⁴ He also quotes (p. 28) from the Register of All Saints, Derby: "1610, May 16. I see no reason why a register for English people should be kept in Latin. Richard Kilbie, Minister." All the same, it *was* kept in Latin for some years afterwards. At Gulval, Latin entries are found occasionally down to 1712. At Loughborough there is but one Latin entry from 1538 downwards.

diversity prevailed with regard to this language. Some of our oldest records—I do not include deeds—are in English: those of St. Michael, Bishop Stortford, for example (they have a Latin preface), and those of St. Lawrence, Reading¹; some of later date, like Ecclesfield, where the baptisms begin in 1599, are in Latin. It is curious to observe the transition. Our baptismal entries pass from “Jana, fillia Willi Scoble, xxv Septembris,” 1625, to “Margaret the daughter of Willm Thomas, the ij^o October; Phillip the sonne of John Hodge of Buscoppa, the ix of October; Margert, the daughter of Tristram Carlian, xvij October,” and so forth. But there is an occasional reversion to Latin, as if by force of habit. Thus the last entry of 1628 is, “Susanna, filia Johis Carlian et Susannae uxor., Octobris 25,” and all those of 1629-30 are in the same tongue. Similarly, our funerals, which from 1625-8 are written in English, in 1629-30 are in Latin, and we pass from “John the sonne of Thomas Barne buried the 25 of Aprill,” 1628, to “Alicia Daddow, sepult’ est Aprilis xij^o,” 1629, and “Johes Sawell gent. sepultus est Septembris vij^o.” In these instances, however, it was not from force of habit, but from a change of scribe. The *headings* of the different years—where there are such: in 1623 they are wanting—are always in Latin. Marriages are always indicated thus—*In matrimonio copulati sub Anno Dñi*, 1567²; Baptisms—*Baptismatis aqua abluti sub Anno Dm*, etc.; Funerals—*Ecclesiastic. sepultur. affecti sub Anno*,

¹ These are Churchwardens’ Accounts.

² In the Latin entries of Ecclesfield, the weddings are simply headed *Nuptiae*, and are written thus—

“Mense Junij

Nicholas Deye nupt. fuit Elizabethhe Beamonde xij die.”

Sometimes, however, the copyist lapsed into “maryed,” sometimes for “nupt” we find “conjugat’,” “cojug,” and “conjung.” The funerals are specified as “vidua,” “infans,” “uxor,” “puer,” “puella,” “abort,” “pauper,” etc. *Registers of Ecclesfield Parish Church*, by A. S. Gatty. The usual headings of Baptisms, Weddings and Funerals are *Illuminati*, *Nuptiae*, *Sepulti*.

etc. As most of the names still survive amongst us,¹ I will transcribe the first two pages of our WEDDINGS (1564-77), etc.

[PAGE I.]

"In matrimonio copulati sub Anno Dñi 1564

Willmũs Bonde et Juliana xxv^{to} Septembris Añõ Dñi predicto¹
 Johẽs Jackson et Jana Home xxvj^{to} Septembris
 Johẽs Kestell et Joaõa Rowse viij^o Octobris
 Thomas Collyn et Constantia Carlyan viij^o Octobris
 Willmũs Thomas et Pascalia Resoga ix^o Octobris
 Stephũs Dadowe et Thomasina Gumowe xv^{to} Octobris
 Nichũs Rescorla et Elizabetha Trembere, xxix^o Octob.
 Johẽs paskowe et Wilmota Martyn xxi^o Nouembris
 Johẽs George et Catharina Rowe xlii^o Nouembris
 Johẽs Toker [Tucker ?] et Joanna Maye xxvii^o Nouembr.
 Willmũs Will et Joanna Vyvian, secundo Decembr.
 Johẽs Bond et Amia Kellye xv^{to} Januarij
 Johẽs Davye et Emma Pawlyn xxx^o Januarij
 Willmũs Nancollas et Blanchea Every xxviii^o februarij

In matrimonio copulati sub aõo Dni 1565

Thomas May et Joaõa Lugger xxvii^o Julii, Añõ Dñi 1565
 Stephũs Dadowe et Joaõa mayne xxi octobris
 Michael Pears et Thomasina Trewynow xxvii^o octobr.
 Willmũs Saundrie et Joana Trembere xxv^{to} nouembr.
 Georgius Jagowe et Joaõa Cocke xxvj^{to} Nouembr.
 Willmũs Balberie et Jana James xxi^o octobr.

In mñiomio copulat' sub aõo Dñi 1566

Johẽs Renold et Agmes Scoller, v^o Augusti Añõ Dni 1566
 Thomas Edward et Wilmota La v^{to} octobr.
 Johẽs menhire et Helena pantow ix^o octobris

¹ Of the 27 names in the marriage list of 1564, assuming that "Collyn" and "Will" stand for "Collins" and "Wills," and "Toker" for "Tucker," all save two or three are still found in the parish or in its vicinity. Yet marriages were then celebrated between parties neither of whom resided in the parish.

² These words, or *Anno Dni p^r dicto*, are repeated in every case. I have not thought it necessary to do the same.

Johēs gumowe et Joāna Lavrean tertio Nouembr.

Thomas Morgan et Constantia quarto Nouembr.

Henricus Cowche [Couch] et x̃riana penhale xxiii^o Nouembr.

Johēs Cripps et Helena Thomas xxvj Nouembr.

Johēs Hanaford et Margreta pentowe xxx^o nouēbr.

rinus Phillip et Joāna Pascow xxvj^o Januarii

Willmūs Carlyan et Catherina Dallamyne xxvij^o Januarii

In matrimonio copulat' sub Anno Dñi 1567.

Johēs Renold et Joana Trussell xiiij^{to} Aprilis

Thomas Walter et Olivia Vyvian xj Maij

Christopherus Balhatchet et Elizabetha Trage viii^o Septembr.

Robertus Tregonion et Thomasina Rescorla xvj^o Decembr.

Richūs Ingram et Elizabeth Trehane xxv^o Nouembr.

Richūs Dado et Jana Tremayne primo febr.

Matheus Tonking et margret Carlyan viij februarii

In matrimonio copulat' sub Anno Dñi 1568

Lucas Jacob et Joāna Maye quinto Julii . .

Willmūs Even et Oliva Dadow xxv^{to} Augusti

R. may Vicar, Austle.

[PAGE 2.]

Johēs Philippe et Eua xxx^o Augusti Anno Dñi p dicto

Willmūs Hyebe et Joana Ede quarto Octobris „ „

Richūs Jamys et Joana Opye xix^{to} „

Paschovus Jacob et Jana Dadow xxv^{to} „

Willūs Euen et Phillippe xx Novembris

Richūs Trenannce et Joana Lougge xxiiij^{to} Januarij.

In Matrimonio copulat' sub Anno Dñi 1569.

Thomasina Rescorla vj^{to} Junij. Anno Dñi 1569

Edmundus Robin xxviiij^{to} Julii „ „

Nichūs, son of Johēs Creby xxiij^{do} Julij „

Johñes Jagow xxij Septembris „ „

Samsonus Clemens quinto Octobris „

Pascus Olyuer xij^{mo} Octobris

Johēs Luke, decimo Novembris

Symo' Honkin xxj^{to} Novembris
 Richus Tonkin xij^{mo} Januarij
 Johes Alyn vviij^{to} Januarij
 Radulphus Crasoote xxj Januarij
 Christopherus Perye xxx^{to} Januarij
 Edmundus Niclys et Nicola carlyan xix^{mo} Janu.
 Willim Parkyn et Philyppa Pentow xxi^{mo} Januarij

In Matrimonio copulat' sub Anno Dñi 1570

Nichus Water et Joana Ryscasa xxx Aprilis
 Willim Hooper et Anna Lamore xx Junij
 Johes Broode et Alitia younge xij Novemb.
 Johes Carne et Margeria Scotte xix Novemb.
 Johes Binsett et Elyzabetha Minor xxx^{to} Nouemb.
 Johes Dallamyne et Joana Tokar, quinto februarij
 Richus Coke et Margareta Nottell, quinto februarij
 Edmund^s Sayemore et Christiana Teege x^{mo} feb.

In Matrimonio copulat' sub Anno Dñi 1571.

Georgius Killegrine et Anna Webbe xiiij Maij
 Willmus Roger Joana water xij Maij
 Johes Tregenven et Joana Millys xij februarij
 Johes Vivian et Anna Ledder xxviiij Julij
 Johes Bakar et Joana Smythe tertio Septemb.
 Johes Jacke et Joana Bount xxj Septemb.
 Thomas Coke et Joana Kelow primo Septemb."

I now proceed to give the first page of BAPTISMS, omitting, however, most of the dates as unimportant.

" Baptisma^{us} aqua abluti sub Anno Dñi 1564

Joana filia LeRowse¹ iij^o Junij
 Willims, filius Johannis Craddicke xxv^{to} Junij
 Johes filius ffrancissi Balhachat xiiij Julij
 Joana filia Thomae Graye. xiiij Julij
 Johes filius Henrici Comene xvij Julij

¹ Or Lesscouse. This has been scratched out and re-written, and is not very legible.

Otte filius Willm̃i dadwo [Dadow ?], ij Augusti
 Johẽs filius Nichi Rowse, quinto August
 Johẽs filius Constanci Nowell, vj August
 Thomasina filia Willm̃i Minord
 Johẽs filius Willm̃i Ivye
 Joana filia Willm̃i James
 Thomas filius Johannis Hero
 Johẽs filius Johannis Tressa
 Michael filius Johannis Tregemven
 Margẽra filia Willm̃i Gelyege [Gerridge ?]
 Nicolla filia Johannis Roberte
 Elyzabetha filia Richardi Molle [Moyle ?]
 Johẽs filius Johannis Tocer [Tusser ?]
 Agnis filia Johannis Ede
 Richus filius Lucae Jacob
 Anna filia Georgi Kelegrine.
 Maria filia Nichi Jerman. [Sherman ?]
 Agnis filia Paschole
 Joana filia Pascho
 Henricus filius Johannis Teme
 Johẽs filius Willm̃i Hopper. [Hooper ?]
 Johẽs filius Radulphi Hewe [Hugh ?]
 Johẽs filius Johannis Vivian xii Martii.
 Elyzabetha filia Willm̃i Hego [Hugo ?] viiº Aprilis
 Thomas filius Thomi Renaud viii Aprilis

Baptismatis aqua abluti sub Anno Dñi 1595

Joaõa filia Johannis Tregore iijº Aprilis
 Johẽs filius Michalis Higman
 Margẽra filia Richardi Gomow
 fflorentia filia Johannis Maye "

In transcribing the BURIALS I carefully record the dates, for reasons which will appear presently. Here is the first page—

"Ecclesiastic' sepultur' affecti sub Anno Dñi 1564

Johẽs filius Johis Vivian iijº Aprilis
 Mgreta filia Richi Gumow xxiiijº Aprilis

M̃greta filia Richi Lawe [Laa ?] x^o maij
 Joh̃es et Joana Woulcocke xxiiij Junii
 Elena Hocke xvij^o Julii
 Penticosta filia Joh̃is Gregory xx Julii
 Joana filia Steph̃i Tredinname xx Janu.
 Johannes Sparre xxiiij Januarii
 Thomasina filia Johis Phillippe xxiiij Janu.

Ecclesiastic Sepultur. affecti sub Anno Dñi 1565

Willm̃s filius Willm̃i Dadow xxviiij Augusti 1565
 Philippa filia Joh̃is Beste xxviiij Augusti
 Joh̃es filius Joh̃is Gomer [Gummo ?] xxix Augusti
 Paschus filius Joh̃is Stevens eidem die
 Joana filia Richi Crebby [Creba ?] xxx Augusti
 Philippa Tregomanne eidem die
 Elizab̃ta filia Joh̃is Dadow eidem die
 Maria filia Richi Crebby iij Septemb.
 Thomasina Dennys iij Septemb.
 Joh̃es filius Willm̃i Dadow eidem die
 Joh̃es filius Steph̃i Light v^o Septemb.
 Willm̃s filius Thomasinae John eidem die
 Joh̃es filius Willm̃i Dadow vij Septemb.
 Joh̃es filius Henrici Vivia viij Septemb.
 Alitia filia Willm̃i Traye eidem die¹
 Matheus Trewinne eidem die
 Joana Crebby ix Septemb.
 Matheus ptavow ix Septemb.
 Elizab̃ta Crebby x Septemb.
 Thomasina Oppie eidem die
 Pascha Robins eidem die
 Ottis filius Willm̃i dadow xii Sept.
 M̃greta dadow eidem die
 Alitia filia Edvardi Honniwell xiiij Sept.
 Mylliar [Amelia ?] James xiiij Septemb.
 Maria Thretherby² xiiij Septemb.

¹ *Eidem* here, and in several cases below, has been corrected to *eadem* by a later hand.

² A hamlet in this parish is named Trethurgy.

Willms filius Willmi John xv Sept.
 Stephus Hamblie xvj Sept.
 Elizabta Gelen xvij Sept.
 Anna Wasteynge xx Septemb.
 Andreus filius Johis Teue eidem die
 Mgrita uxor Johis Saymere [Seymour ?] xxj Sept.
 Johes filius Johis Stephen xxij Sept.
 Jana filia Thomas Vivia xxvii Sept.
 Roger filius Johis Sebe [Sobey ?] eidem die
 Matheus filius Johis Polglas xxix Sept.
 Dorothea Woulse xxix Septembr.
 Willms filius Thomae Carlyan xxx Sept.
 Philippa filia Johis Kebbe eidem die"¹

Instead of transcribing the second and third pages of Burials, I prefer to give those of two *years*, viz., 1567 and 1671. And it may be as well if I give them in English.

" Buried with the rites of the Church in the year of our LORD 1567.

John, son of John Penton	June 22
Didid Roo	" 23
John Terkin, on the same day	" "
Joana, daughter of Andr. Hew	" 28
Nicholas, son of John Vivian	July 2
Friswetha, d. of John Treshan	" 4
Philippa, d of John Penton	" 5
Henry Donne of Fowey [de ffoye]	" 5
Jane Luggar	" 6
Catherine, d. of Christopher Woulcocke	" 7
Simon, s. of Andrew Hew	" 7
Stephen, s of William Penhale	" 13
Joan, dr. of Thomas Graye	" 18
Matthew, s of Thomas Trenshaye	" 20
Elizabeth, dr. of Thomas Trenshaye	" 20
Anna, Walter, children of Mathew Rescorla	" 21

¹ There were twelve more funerals that year—all but two in October.

Christina, dr. of John Lescose	July 21
Thomas, son of John Pascho	„ 22
Alice, dr. of Jerome Julyan	„ 23
Jane Trewinne	„ „
John, s. of Thomasina Morishe	„ „
Margaret, dr. of William Graye	„ 24
William Graye	„ 28
John Jacob	„ 28
Peter, s. of William Ewyn	Aug. 2
Henry, s. of John Rennold	„ 3
Roger Perkyn	„ 4
Joan, WIFE of John Slawby	„ 4
John Baker	„ 4
Michael, s. of Matthew Rescorla	„ 4
Richard, s. of Matthew Rescorla	„ 4
John, s. of Pascho James	„ 6
John, s. of Constance Nowell	„ 6
Christina, dr. of John Hodge	„ 7
John, s. of Stephen Dadow	„ 10
Thomasine, dr. of William Richard	„ 11
Henry, s. of John Treganine	„ „
John, s. of Joan Oppie	„ 12
Dorothea, d. of John Vivian	„ 15
Catherine, d. of William Dadow	„ „
Paschus, s. of John Renolds	„ 17
Catherine, dr. of Myliar James	„ „
Elizabeth, dr. of Wm. Miniver	„ „
Anna, Peirs, children of Cradicke	„ 18
Robert, son of John Rennold	„ 19
Thomas Graye	„ „
John, s. of Philip Vivion	„ 20
Albiana, dr. of John Oppie	„ „
Thomas, s. of Thomas Benniha	„ 24
Richard, s. of Thomas Dennys	„ „
Anna, dr. of Olliver Thomas	„ „
Elizabeth, dr. of John Oppie	„ 25
Anna, dr. of Richard Gobbin	„ 25

Paschus, s. of Joan Porhes	Aug. 25
John, s. of John Gregory	„ 26
Loveday, dr. of William Perres	„ „
Helen, dr. of Richard Besse	„ 27 "

Fifty-nine interments, nearly all within two months, and forty-eight of these children, after which *no* funerals are recorded until April the 1st of the next year. In 1570 there were nineteen funerals—*seven* those of children and *four* of married women. Now we come to

“ 1571.

Elizabeth, WIFE of John Hore	March 25
John, son of Mathew Rescorla	April 15
Elizabeth, WIFE of John Perkin	„ 16
John, son of John Edmund	„ 26
Margery, WIFE of John Cooke	May 20
John Braye	„ 30
Jane, dr. of Thomas Hogge	June 4
John, son of Christopher Balhatchet	„ 18
Richard Dollynge	„ 18
Joan, dr. of Richard Rowse	„ 21
William Mynor	„ 30
Joan, WIFE of Nicholas Novell	July 1
Joan, dr. of Thomas Colle	„ 13
Elizabeth Gichard	„ 20
Elizabeth, WIFE of Martin Poyle [Powell?]	Aug. 2
Richard Mellnard	„ 3
John Pollard	„ 16
John, son of Thomas Benam	Sept. 5
Martin Poyle	„ 11
Joan, dr. of Pascho Dallamyne	„ 14
Joan, WIFE of John Nicholas	„ 30
Elizabeth, WIFE of Nich ^s Toker	Oct. 22
John, son of Nich. Toker	„ 23
Francis, son of Henry Olyver	„ 25
Maria, dr. of William Whedan	„ 30

Elizabeth, WIFE of John Dallamine	Nov. 8
John Menys	" 8
Nicholas German	" 14
Thomasine, dr. of William Graye	" "
Elizabeth Sayemore	" "
John, s. of Pascho Jellen	" 24
Joan, WIFE of Edmund Sayemore	Dec. 7
Nicholas, son of Edmund Sayemore	" "
William, son of Nich ^s James	" 8
Mathew Killegrine	" 13
Temperance, dr. of Thomas Dollynge	" "
Thomasine, WIFE of John Raowe	" 25
Margery, WIFE of Robert Allen	" 25
John Siccocke	" 28
Edmund, son of William Hego	" 30
Nicholas Wetter	" 30
John, son of Mathew Tonking	Jan. 7
Pentecost, WIFE of John Killegrine	" 10
Joan, WIFE of Henry Balbery	" 15
Anna, dr. of Thomas Kelowe	" 21
John Bounsell	" 22
Loveday, WIFE of George Killegrine	" 26
Christina Peires	" 30
Amy, dr. of John Kelligrine	Feb. 1
Thomasine, WIFE of Jno. Vivian	" 3
William Lawean [Lavrean ?]	" 5
Florida, WIFE of William Gryme	" 8
Maria Hoskinge	" 8
Thomas Killegrine	" 9
Nicholas James	" 14
Thomasine Penglle [Pengelle ?]	" 15
Anna, WIFE of Richard Cornwall	" 15
Jane, dr. of Thomas Morgan	" 16
Anna, dr. of Rich ^d . Cornwall	" "
Elizabeth WIFE of William Dadow	" 17
John Killegrine	" 18
Robert Chayell	" 21

Joan, dr. of John Tregennow	Feb. 22
Jane Poke	" 24
William Evan	" 24
Nicolla, WIFE of Thomas Morgan	March 1
John Tonking	" "
John Gillet	" "
Joan Crosse	" 2
Christina, WIFE of John Vivian	" 2
John Trembere	" "
Thomasine Ranffra	" 4
Thomasine Trekone	" "
John Crosse	" "
Alice, dr. of John Tonking	" 5
John Beratte [Barratt ?]	" 8
Jane, dr. of Thomas Kellow	" 9
Thomasine, dr. of Richard Cocke	" 13
Edward, son of Thomas May	" 15
John Rawe	" 23 "

Now then we have some ten pages of the book before us. Let us see what we can make out of them, in the light of other similar records.

I begin with the *Christian* names—they come first. It may be well to observe first that neither here nor for many years afterwards have we a single instance of a double Christian name. I may remark, in passing, that of the thirty-seven known Vicars of this parish, only one—Thomas Scott Smyth—has had more than one such name. It is quite a modern fashion to accumulate Christian names ; we have derived it from Italy ; it arose, in all probability, from giving the child the *names* of its godparents. "In the long list of the Deans of Westminster" Dean Stanley "found only one predecessor who had two Christian names."¹ Only two Bishops of London have had two—Charles James Blomfield was the first. No Vicar of

¹ Zincke, *Wharstead*, p. 40.

Tavistock before 1812 had such a distinction, and but one out of fifty Vicars of Wenhamston (1217-1890), and one out of the Vicars of Folkestone (1323-1890). In the St. Columb Registers we have two entries in 1542 which *look* like double names, viz., "James John Jane" and "John William Elisabeth," but are not: I believe the seeming surname represents the wife's name.¹ I must also remark on the steadfast recurrence of the same homely names—Johannes, Willelmus, Joana, etc.—again and again. Girls' names do indeed show some little variety—we observe Penticosta, Constantia, Petronella, Dorothea, florentia, etc.²—but a rigid simplicity characterizes those of the men—they are all, with rare exceptions, good old-fashioned Bible names. The predominance of "John" is very remarkable—"in all Christian countries the name of the beloved disciple was in high favour."³ I may mention that of the thirteen Vicars of Wenhamston, Suffolk, between 1365 and 1475, *ten* were Johns. Just one-half of our bridegrooms of 1564 bore this name, and it is almost as prominent elsewhere, whilst of the thirty-three children baptized, eleven were *Johns* and five *Joans*.⁴ Equally remarkable is the absence of

¹ Mr. Chester Waters says (*Parish Registers*, pp. 40, 41), "I have found only one solitary instance of an Englishman bearing two names before the middle of the sixteenth century." He adds that this instance (*Henry Algernon*, fifth Earl of Northumberland, in 1477) is *doubtful*. "Thomas Fuller," he continues, "says that Queen Mary gave her name to all her godsons, e.g., 'Anthony Maria,' 'Edward Maria,' etc." There is not a single instance of a double name among the 2,222 students admitted to the Inner Temple between 1571 and 1625. In the next generation a few ladies were named "Henrietta Maria," after the consort of Charles I. "In the reign of George I. not one grown-up person among 200 of the aristocracy, and only one in a thousand of the general population, had more than one name. George III. was baptized 'George William Frederick.'"

² Penticost, Petrenell and Emblen were also common Christian names at St. Columb.

³ Zincke, p. 41, who remarks that "Biblical names were a Norman introduction."

⁴ Waters observes (p. 43) that in the Middle Ages several children of the same family may be found bearing the same Christian name. Thus the Lord Protector Somerset had three sons named Edward, and John Leland the antiquary had a brother John. In the Register of Beby, in Leicestershire, twins of the name of Sicke are recorded as having

"George," especially when it is remembered that St. George is the patron saint of this country. It will be observed that in the long lists of interments which I have given, *not one* of the dead bore this name. It is everywhere rare in English records until the sixteenth century; our King Georges came from Germany. Some of the less common names were doubtless due to the time of their birth, as Christiana, Pascha, Penticosta, and perhaps Michael; in 1580-1 I observe the name of "Pessavoure" and "Paschomaisod" in 1737. Other names, such as Radulphus, look fanciful, owing to their Latin dress; in English it is plain Ralph. It will be observed that *surnames* are not used as Christian names—"Mylliar James" (among the funerals) I take to represent "Amelia James" (in the St. Columb lists we find "Petherick Parnell," but Petherick is but our form of Patrick; Anlyff Torker and Reskymer Spraye are not so easy to explain)—though this is not a purely modern fashion; they have been fairly common in many parts of England since the reign of Henry VIII.—we may remember Lord *Guildford* Dudley.¹

each received the name of John, and two days later the same "John and John" were buried. He adds that all the male Ashleys are still christened "Anthony," and that in the Austrian family of Althann all the males have borne the name of Michael, and all the females of Maria, for three hundred years.

¹ Waters, p. 44, who informs us that Snape, a Puritan minister, refused to christen a child by the profane name of Robert, whereas "Ananias" and "Sapphira," being Scripture names, were favourites with them. Elsewhere (p. 17) he states that Puritan names, such as "Repente," "Freegift," "Constant," "Faint-not," belong rather to the period *before* the Commonwealth, than to that or a later age. "Praise-GOD" Barebone almost certainly received this name at his baptism. His brother, however, *adopted* the name "If-CHRIST-had-not-died-for-thee-thou-shouldest-have-been-damned" Barebone. "Milcom Groat" changed his baptismal name (which was certainly not a happy one) to "The-abomination-of-the-children-of-Ammon Groat"; no doubt *he* thought he had mended it, whatever our opinion may be. "Mahershalalhashbaz" is said to be a "regularly transmitted name in a family at St. Agnes" (by Dr. Bannister, in a paper on *Jews in Cornwall*, *Journal R. Inst.*, p. 325). In 1673, a girl was baptized "Estofidelis," at Wherstead. I have found no trace in our books of a custom which prevailed elsewhere in the sixteenth century of calling children baptized by the midwife "Creature" (*i.e.*,

But let us now pass to the *surnames*, for by this time almost everybody here had a surname¹; at an earlier date, as the lists of our Vicars, etc., go to show, nobody had; most of them are designated, in addition to their baptismal name, by the place of their birth or residence, as Nicholas *de Podeforde*, Ralph *de Retyn*, Henry *de Treverbyn*, etc. Then, as many persons might bear the same baptismal name, they came to be distinguished by their personal peculiarities, such as Brown, Black, Grey, Courtney (=short nose), Crookshanks, Goodfellow, etc., or their *trades*—hence the Smiths, Carpenters, Walkers, Fullers, etc. (Walker = Fuller): I find the name of *Piscator* (Fisherman) in our lists; or the son bore also his *father's* name—hence the Johnsons, Jacksons, Robinsons, etc.—or his *mother's*, as in the Bettisons, Margerisons, Ansons. Anyhow, before our Registers begin, surnames appear to have been thoroughly established amongst us. I do not remark any greater predominance of *Tre*, *Pol* and *Pen* than at the present time, though “the names of most of the Cornish gentry are local.”² Nor do I observe here what is undoubtedly a feature now—

creatura Christi). As the midwife sometimes baptized the child before it was separated from the mother, a mistake might easily be made as to its sex. A curious instance of some such mistake is found in the Register of Bishop Wearmouth, in 1730. “Robert, daughter of Wm. Thompson, bap. 15 feb.—the midwife mistaking the sex—*ebrietas dementat*.” In the St. Nicholas Acons Register we find—“Joseph Leet, the daughter of Matthew Leet.” The St. Columb Register testifies to a midwife baptism in Feb., 1600-1. Such baptisms were forbidden by the Hampton Court Conference of 1603. “Creature” suited in any case. Waters cites from the Staplehurst Register, *anno* 1547, “Ther was baptized by the midwyffe and so buried the child of Thomas Goldham, called ‘Creature,’” and the same books record the marriage of John Haffyden and *Creature* Cheesman.

¹ Mr. G. B. Millett, in editing the Registers of Madron, remarks that even in 1593 “surnames appear to have been scarcely settled,” and “seem to have been often assumed from a trade or calling.” “John *the Roper*” appears in the lists of that year. In 1577 the marriage is recorded of “Peter and Hellynor, servauntes to Walter Lanyon, gentellman”—without any surnames at all. Similarly we find, “Richard, the base son of Pacyens.” In our *Tythes Book* I read of “John the Tynner,” elsewhere called “John Tynner.” He was then acquiring his name. So was Roger the Hellior.

² Lysons.

the considerable proportion of Christian names which do duty as surnames¹; "the Cornish," says Carew, "entitle one another with his own and his father's Christian name." No doubt we have Thomas, George, James, and Robert as surnames in the brief lists above given, but such names are found everywhere, whereas we have also amongst us such additional names as Sawle, Sara, Tom, Jane, John, Michael. It is also a custom at the present time to duplicate the name in such cases—I have met with Luke Lukes, Henry Harry, Francis Francis, Edward Edwards, and Richard Richards, and I find Jane Jane at St. Columb in 1576. I think it is noticeable, too, how few patronymics—names like Jackson and Johnson—there are in the lists; now they are common enough. As was inevitable, some good old names, such as Laa, Killegrine, Dallamyne, Trevanion, and Scoble, have died out in the parish; others, like Carlian, Ivye, Tredinname, Trembere, Jagowe, have assumed a somewhat different shape—but then, there is no accounting for spelling in the old registers; the clerk or parson just followed his own sweet will.

From the names let us turn to the *numbers*. The average number of baptisms at this period is twenty-seven, which points to a population of about 800—the birth rate is at present 30·6 per thousand *per annum*. I incline to think that all our baptisms, apart from cases of neglect or oversight, were entered in the book—partly because of the number of illegitimates, and partly because this was a country parish: our rude forefathers had not learned to charge.² The weddings

¹ In the *Tythes Book*, however, this feature is very marked. Half the surnames in p. 1 are Christian names.

² Waters observes (p. 39) that entries of baptisms and burials were often omitted when no fee was paid, and that therefore the number of bastards and foundlings is somewhat uncertain. He also says that as a rule the Burial Register is fuller than that of Baptisms, because Dissenters were unwilling to be excluded from the Churchyard, but this remark

about this time vary from two to fourteen—the average during the first twenty years was 8·6, presuming that the lists are complete—but then, it is said that even now marriages fluctuate with the price of corn.¹ As we should expect, we do not discover many traces of marriages during Lent, though we have one in 1564 on the second Monday in Lent; then none till 1592, when we have a wedding on the third *Friday* in Lent; but I am not quite so sure about Advent.²

Now we come to what is perhaps the most instructive

must refer to a later date than Century XVI. We have no traces of any Dissent here until the rise of the Quakers; in 1670 there were only twenty-one "Nonconformists" in St. Austell. (See p. 31.) Mr. Meadows Cowper, speaking of Canterbury, says there is abundant evidence, especially in the *Burial Register*, that all the names were not entered.

¹ "Looking back over the records for the last 25 years, one notices that the year 1873 showed the highest marriage rate (17·6), and this year was also remarkable for the highest degree of commercial activity, the total exports and imports for the year being worth £21 4s. 2d. per head of population. The least matrimonial year of the 25 was 1886, when only 14·2 married per 1,000 living, and then the value of the total exports and imports was only £17 0s. 10d. per head of population." *Pall Mall Magazine*, x. 438.

² In 1564 there was a wedding on December 2nd, but this was the Saturday before the first Sunday in Advent. In 1587 there was a wedding on December 24th, which that year in the Julian Kalendar was the fourth *Sunday* in Advent, and in 1594 on December 1st, which was the first Sunday. The strictest rule on this subject is embalmed in some lines which Waters quotes from the Registers of Everton, Notts—

"Advent marriage doth deny,
But Hilary gives thee liberty;
Septuagesima says thee Nay,
Eight days from Easter says you may;
Rogation bids thee to contain,
But Trinity sets thee free again."

Our Marriage Registers contain no entries of any particular interest. The *Chronicon Mirabile* tells of this entry—I think at Bishop Middleham, in 1652—"John Bedford and An Anderson wer maryed, ye 30th of Dec. GOD send her wel delivered in child-bearing"—a clause suggesting a sinister interpretation. At Chester-le-Street, in 1676, it is recorded—"6 April Mr. Ralph Hedworth *and wife*, mar." The Register of Chiltern, All Saints Wilts (1714), tells of one Anne Selwood, "who was married in her smock, without any clothes or head-gier on"—a procedure which was supposed to free her husband from all liability for her debts. And at St. James', Bury St. Edmunds, we read of a bride who, being armless, had the wedding ring placed on the fourth *toe* of the left foot, and signed the register with her right foot. (Waters.)

feature in these old records ; there is nothing that throws such a lurid light on the life of our past centuries as the Funerals. The prodigious difference in the interments of different years must strike the most casual observer. He will have observed, for example, that in 1564 the deaths were but 10, whereas the next year they were five times as many, and in 1571 they were eight times as many—of which 50 took place between December 7th and March 23rd—whilst in '76 they dropped to 10, and in '84 they were but 14. In '88 they rose to 82, in 1600 they fell to 9, and so throughout our history.¹ There is no mistaking the significance of these figures ; they point to epidemics such as, at that insanitary period, so often decimated our parishes. This is clear, if from nothing else, from the numbers of the same family who died ; sometimes parents and children follow one another in swift succession to the grave.² Thus in 1565 five “ Dadows ” and four “ Crebbys ” were carried to their long home within a fortnight or so—two of the former on the same day. Not only so, but, unless I am much mistaken, we can in some cases conjecture with reasonable certainty what sort of epidemic it was. We rarely find in our books any reference to the disease which was the cause of death—the small-pox is indeed indicated about the year 1777—but in the registers of some other parishes we have frequent and often most touching mention of the plague or

¹ The Register of St. Nicholas Acons (begins 1539) records *one* death, and that a stranger's, in 1541, but 28 in 1543. Similarly, in '61 there were 5 deaths ; in '63, 54 (22 of which were in September). At St. Oswald's, Durham, in 1597, 344 persons died in “ the great visitation.” There were 84 deaths at St. Austell in that year.

² At Holy Cross, Canterbury, in 1564, out of 37 burials, there were 5 Holmeses, 6 Mylers, and 3 Bynggs. Another year, 5 Carpenters in one month, and 3 children of John Bridge within twenty-four hours. Meadows Cowper, p. 7. At Tavistock, during the plague of 1726, there were nearly 600 deaths in the twelve months. The population was larger in 1680 than in 1780. In 1591, over 100 persons died—Polwhele says of the plague—at Illogan, and 535 at St. Ives in 1645 in six months. Half the inhabitants fled from the place. At Gateshead, in '44, five from one house were buried the same day.

other malignant distemper; indeed, as Waters observes (p. 73), "our knowledge of the severity of this visitation is mainly derived from the parish registers." Meadows Cowper mentions (p. 10) that in the Holy Cross, Canterbury, register, though 35 died in 1666, the year when the Great Plague raged in London, there is not one word of regret or pity or alarm. But this was not the case elsewhere. At Loughborough, for example, the pages from June, 1558, to June, 1559, are headed, "A Plague begun," "The Plague continueth," etc. Mr. Fletcher states that in 1551, 295 were buried in one year, most of them victims of "the Sweatte" or "New acqu'tance." At Stranton, in 1597, the Register says, "Here began the sickness 21 May." At Hart, in 1587, we read how "several died in the street, and so were buried." In that year there were "89 corses, whereof tenne were strangers." In 1610 we find this entry in the Register, "Loughborowe verree sore visitted with the plague and the whole towne much impoverished"—so much so that no subsidy was collected from the inhabitants, who indeed camped outside the town in large numbers to avoid infection. The letter p. is here prefixed to the names of those who died of this disease. In the Leicester Corporation Accounts for 1631 is a charge of £13 10s. "to keep Loughborough people forth of the Town"—135 people died of the plague that year. In 1564, *per contra*, the assizes were held at Loughborough because of the ravages of the plague in Leicester. Similarly, "at Barnstaple, in 1592, the Wardens paid 5s. 4d. to watchmen to stand at Litchdon on Fridays to keep out Moulton men infected with the plague."¹ In the Register of St. Alkmund's, Derby, we read under 1592, "*Hic incipit pestis pestifera.*" It lasted twelve months, and it is on record that, though no

¹ Reynolds, p. 254.

two houses were free, it never entered the house of tanner, tobacconist, or shoemaker. Whilst it lasted, the country people would bring their produce to a stone at Headless Cross—this was the market *pro tem*.—where they stood with their mouths filled with tobacco. The money paid them was placed in a basin of vinegar upon the stone, which, indeed, has been done in much later days elsewhere. At St. Giles', Durham, there is this entry, in 1604, recording the death of "Ann Ourd wyffe of Christopher Ourd. . . . So *all the hole household* dyed in the visitacion at this tyme and so y^e plague ceased." At Malpas, in Cheshire, we read of a plague-stricken patient digging his own grave and laying himself in it—"Richard Dawson, being sick of the plague and perceyving he must die at y^t tyme arose out of his bed and made his grave and caused his nefew, John Dawson, to cast strawe into the grave which was not farre from the house and went and lay'd him downe in the say'd grave and caused clothes to be layd uppon and so dep'ted out of this world. This he did because he was a strong man and heavier than his sayd nefew and another wench [!] were able to bury."¹ Nor are we altogether without evidence here in St. Austell as to those dark and troublous days. In 1565, for example, out of the 51 funerals, 30 were those of *children*—this is indicated by the "filius" or "filia" after their names; it is therefore reasonable to conclude that this epidemic was one which especially attacked young life. Of course, we must always remember how great was the infant mortality of those days, and, in truth, of days much more recent; even at the beginning of this century it was computed that more than half the children born died under three years of age. And it will be observed that of the ten deaths of 1564—when there was no infectious

¹ Waters, p. 73.

disease—seven were those of children. Still, I feel sure that this conclusion is a just one. But in '71, when there were 81 funerals, only 22 were those of young people, whilst 20 men lost their *wives*—the word *uxor* shows it.¹ This by itself is startling, but it becomes much more so when we observe that of the 51 funerals of '65 only four were those of married women; and still more, when we find that in the first month (April) of '72 five more wives died, and only one in the rest of that year. We can hardly be wrong, therefore, in ascribing some part of this special mortality to fever—fever which engendered puerperal fever. And I find a confirmation of this theory in observing, first, that the deaths are spread pretty evenly over the year, and secondly, that mother and child, in six instances at least, died within a few days of each other. And I have little doubt but that a careful study of the mortality of other years would reveal somewhat similar results. I must now, however, confine myself to recording some of the few *notabilia* in our lists. In 1575 occurs the first reference to a trade—Rogerus *the Hellior*—i.e., roofer, slater. In the weddings from '69 to '76 are many *lacunæ*—in some cases only the man's (in one case only the woman's) name, or only the woman's *Christian* name (as e.g., Johēs Jellen et Alitia) or only the wife's *surname* (as, Johēs Pearse et Daddowe). In one case (Nov. 28th, 1572) we have nothing but Johēs—no great help towards identification. In 1582 we come across *Mater* Nancollas and *Mater* Michalis Pears; in '86, Joana Julian, *vidua*; in '87, a *pauper mulier*, whose name was evidently unknown—probably a “way-going woman” who died in the parish. In '89 we have some *aliases*, e.g., Mariana Wren *als* Wrooth; in '91, Elena Pope *et ejus puer* were buried on the same day.

¹ To mark this difference, I have printed “son” and “dr.” in thick type and “wife” in capitals.

The illegitimates, as might be expected, are plentiful enough—in '83 they numbered *six* out of 43 baptisms—but they are not *branded* in our books as they are elsewhere; the record—with one or two exceptions (that mentioned on p. 199 is one; another occurs in 1612—*Johēs et Matheus, filii reputati Michaelis Dustowe*)—never goes beyond *filius illegitimus* or *filia illegitima*.¹ The names of the Vicar's children—a goodly number, as usual—have been written over by a later hand, presumably Ralph Maye's; as for example, *Gratia, filia Radulphi Maye*, 14 July, 1591. So also is (in 1589) the name of Elizabetha, filia Johis Tonking, which lady, we find subsequently, married the Vicar's eldest

¹ In some registers these entries are very forcible. I extract the ten following from Waters. At Croydon, in 1567—Alice, *filia vulgi*; 1582—William, *filius terrae*—elsewhere, *filius populi*; at Herne, Kent, in 1583—Agnes, *filia Bartholomaei fornicatoris*; Stepney, '89—"Jonas, a bastard son of that ancient harlot, Elizabeth Duckett of Poplar"; Twickenham, '90—"A scape-begotten child"; Sedgfield, '98—Forsaken (at Bishop Wearmouth we find, "John, a child foresworne of his father, forsaken of his mother"—*Chronicon Mirab.*) *filius meretricis Agnetis Walton*; at Isleworth—Anna Twine, *fil. uniuscujusque*—"daughter of somebody or other"; at Waldron (1609)—"Flie fornication, the bace son of Catren Andrews"; at Lambeth (1685)—"George Speedwell, a merrybegot"; at Eltham, in 1778—"John Whore, a base born infant." Not a few of these unfortunates were foundlings—hence the names Thomas *Nameless* and Cuthbert *Godsend* (St. Nicholas, Durham), Mary *Porch*, Elizabeth *Middlesex*, Elizabeth *Acons*, etc. This parish—St. Nicholas Acons—gives us (in 1577), "Hewghe Haskins, the soone of a strampett." At St. Laurence, Jewry, the name of Laurence was given to all foundlings. The Redruth registers often record the name of the reputed *father*, thus—"Genet, bastard of Michael George"; "John, bastard of Richard Angolan"; "Agnis, bastard of Thomas Cocke," etc. Other entries are—"Margery, daughter of Jane Rainold"; "Joan, the bastard daughter of Maud Couch," etc. At Ecclesfield, the usual term was "spurious" or "base-gott"; here are two samples—"Spur M'garet fi. M'garete Cooper de Ecclesfelde spinst."; "Ann, filia Georg. Ashton, base-gott." The Stranton Register is more judicial. It tells how "Robert the sonne of Jane Waller and Thomas Fulthorpe, *as she saith*—illegit." was baptized (July 13th, 1634). So is that of Bishop Middleham, which records the burial (in 1641) of "The baze child of Alice Busyth, the suppozed child of John Marry." The St. Columb Register *occasionally* gives the name of the reputed father, as "Anne, bastard to Walter Crips," and "Alson, a bastard to Remfrey Carter," but as a rule it is more merciful, merely giving the mother's name, thus (1583)—"Malachie, mother Anne Edward"; "Marye, daughter of a strange woman"; "Thomas, his mother sister of Thomas Tyer"; "Honor, the mother one Isett, a poore woman"; "Emanuel, son of a poure beggar," etc.

son. The name of Elizabeth, daughter of Henry Rowcliffe, who (in 1646) married Joseph Maye, junr., Ralph's grandson, has been inserted among the baptisms of '26 by her husband. The names of the "quality"—after 1600, when the registers are no longer transcripts—are generally in a bolder hand; this is more marked, however, in our next book. In 1623, under date of July 28th, we have among the Funerals RADULPHUS MAYE, VICARIUS, in very large letters. Among the first entries in English is the marriage (on March 13th, 1627) of *Mr.* John Sawell (Sawle) and *Mrs.* Mary Putt, which I cite as the first instance I have remarked of any "Mr." or "Mrs." In like manner the Johannes Sawell, whose burial took place on Sept. 7th, 1629, is distinguished as "Gent," but this word was added by an afterthought. The burial of "Oliverus Sawlegen" is recorded years before. The marriage of Josephus Maye, Clericus et Elizabetha Tamiking [Tonking], is recorded as taking place Jan. 17th, 1607; he succeeded his father as Vicar in 1621. By 1610 the Baptisms only average 32 *per annum*, and in 1629, when the book comes to an end, they are much the same. The mother's name is first given in 1628—"Susanna filia Johis Carlian *et* Susannae uxor," and so forth. Now we pass to the

SECOND BOOK,

which begins in 1632 and goes down to 1695. On the back is the inscription, "*Registrum in Ecclesia parochiali*," etc., much as before, save that there is no mention now of any *copying* or transcribing. Some one has rudely scribbled beneath it the names of the three Mayes who were Vicars here, giving as dates—Radulphus (1584-1614), Joseph (1614-1657), and Joseph Maye, junior (1660-1678). The second date is certainly

incorrect, as Joseph Maye was instituted in 1621, two years before his father's death. Nor can the date 1614 imply that he was *de facto* Vicar from that year, discharging his father's duties, for in 1616 we find him resident at St. Neot. The gaps in this volume are much greater—partly, no doubt, because of the troublous times.¹ Between 1638-50, for example, only two years have any baptismal record, and the weddings of 1634-36 and 1652-60, and the funerals of '34-'36, '39 and '41-'47 are also missing. This is partly, but only partly, accounted for by the fact that during the Commonwealth a civil registrar was appointed,² as appears from the

¹ The Register Book of Rotherby, Co. Leicester, under 1643-4, has the headings BELLUM! BELLUM! and in 1645, BELLUM! INTERRUPTION! PERSECUTION! At Maids Moreton, Bucks, in 1642, we read—"This year . . . the worst of parliaments . . . the register was hid, and for that reason is not absolutely perfect for divers years."

² On Jan. 3rd, 1644-5, a few days before Laud's death, the *Directory* was substituted for the Prayer Book. It ordained that "a fair register book of velim" should be provided by each parish, in which the date of *birth*, as of baptism, should be entered. In 1653, on Aug. 24th, it was decided by Act of Parliament that all marriages were to be performed before a Justice of the Peace—after Sept., 1654, banns were to be published by the Registrar, either in the Church or the nearest Market Place (on three successive Market days). Sometimes the same banns were called partly in Church and partly in the Market Place (this plan was more expeditious), as appears from the following entry at St. Columb—"26 July [1654]. Robert James and Maud George had banns published first in the Markett Place, 13 July; the second tyme in the Church, 16 July; the third tyme in the Markett Place, 20 July." In the same register we read—"18 Sep. [1654]. Willm. Beafford of this parish and Alice Hearle of Cuby . . . were married by Richard Carter Esq." To this was subsequently added, "In the time of the Rebellion and were fully maryed by the minister the 10th day of September 1656"—i.e., nearly two years later. There is another entry under Dec. 20th, 1656—"Mar. by William Orchard, maior of Bodmyn." By '57 these civil marriages were evidently falling into contempt, and none are found after July 20th, but we often meet instead, "Mar. by Thomas Travers, clerk." Moreover, all clergy were to give up their register books to laymen, who were to be called the "parish registers." They were empowered to charge 12d. for every publication of banns or entry of marriage and 4d. for each entry of birth or burial. Such lay "registers" were to be chosen by the parishioners, but sworn and approved before the local magistrates. The Act was only partially obeyed. One Vicar records—"None in this parish were bedded before they were solemnly wedded in the Church." Yet the celebration of marriage according to the Prayer Book was made punishable by a fine of £5. Marshall, however, who had a great hand in compiling the *Directory*, insisted on the use of the Prayer Book at his daughter's wedding and paid the fine. Any form of ceremony at funerals the *Directory* forbade (Waters).

following note in our book at the year 1653—"The Names which follow until January 1661 were transcribed from the booke of him who was a sworn Registrar appointed by the cheife of the parish and approved by John Kendall, justice of the peace, the 4th day of November, 1655,"¹ from which it also appears that two full years elapsed—I take Nov., 1655, to be the date of *appointment*, not of copying—before our parish was provided with its new official, whose name has passed into oblivion. It was not always so. At Loughborough, for example, the Act was no sooner passed than it was brought into operation, as appears from the following extract—"1653 Nov. 7. Mar. W^m. Batson and Elizth. Wheatcrafte had their intention of marriage published 3 severall lord's dayes . . . and were maryed before W^m. Danvers Esquire, Justice of the peace." At St. Columb, too, a "Regester" was promptly elected, and "approved and sworne by Richard Carter Esq.," and he began a new book on Jan. 1st, 1653-4. From this date, down to Oct., 1660, "was borne" is substituted for "baptized" in the Register of Baptisms. The baptisms here are in no little confusion, as the following Note shows—"The names of those who were baptized in the rest of the year 1554 were lost or not registered." So were all the rest down to April, 1571. In

¹ Waters, p. 14, gives the following extract from the Register of Iselham, Cambs., 1653-4—"Edmund Shilling took the oaths, being chosen to be *Presbyter*!" He further mentions (p. 18) that when the parish clergy recovered possession of the Registers, their first act, in many cases, was to record their contempt for the intruding ministers! The Register of Elswick, Northd., contains this Memorandum—"That maryinge by Justices, election of Registers by the parishioners and the use of ruling elders first came into fashion in the times of the rebellion and that monstre of nature and bloody tyrant, Oliver Cromwell." An oft-quoted extract from the Register of Kibworth, Leics., may be given here. "A.D. 1641. Know all men that the reason why little or nothing is registered from the year 1641 to the year 1649 was the Civil Wars between King Charles and his Parliament, which put all into a confusion till then, and neither minister nor people could quietly stay at home for one party or the other."

1597 we read, "The following were not registered by the Curate w^{ch} did baptize them." At Madron the Act appears to have been almost inoperative—certainly it was as far as marriages were concerned: probably the parish was too remote to trouble about such things. Births, however, are substituted for baptisms from Nov. 16th, 1653, to 1661. But the parish of Paul, which is equally remote, duly appointed a Registrar, as this entry proves—"Wee whose names are subscribed doe think W^m. Badcock to bee a fitt man for our p'rish to be regrstrar and wee desire your approbation in it." This is followed by, "Sworne and allowed by P. Ceeley, Jn. Daniell." From '61, however, onwards, our entries are made with exemplary regularity—those of that year are signed by "Jos. Maye, Vicar," and are in his handwriting, as they are down to the end of 1673-4. The *death*, not burial, of his father is recorded on Oct. 6th, 1657; probably he was buried away from St. Austell. Before we pass on, however, to the days of the Restoration, one word more must be said as to these Civil Marriages. Here is one which was subsequently entered in our book—"Nicholas Carne, gentleman and Mrs. Mary Rescorla were married the 27th daye of Maye, 1656 by Richard Carter, Justice of the Peace, as by his certificate appears."¹ In the Book of St. Nicholas Acons, London, as elsewhere, they occupy a formidable amount of space. Sometimes the presence of a *minister* is mentioned in this volume as well as the Justice of the Peace. In fact, after 1656, when the declaration was omitted which invalidated all marriages not made before a magistrate,² it became a common practice for marriages to be celebrated by minister and mayor. Here is a Cornish case

¹ This Richard Carter of St. Columb did a steady business in marriages. His name frequently appears in the St. Columb Book.

² Waters, p. 16.

in point : it is from the Register of St. Mary Magdalene, Launceston ; the date 1657-8—" Jan 5, were married by Nich. Gennis, gent. and Maior of this Towne and also by Mr. William Oliver, Minister of this Towne, Thomas Roberts of the p'ish of Lifton and Elizth Glanville . . . Their Banes beeing by me pub^d. three severall Lord's dayes without contradiction."¹ But the most extraordinary publication of banns that I have met with is found in the Register of St. Nicholas Acons, already referred to—" These are to certify that publication and entenshun of Marridge was made by Nichloas Elles, Citty cryer, on 29 Aprele and 3 and 8 May, between me, Thomas Bonfoye and me, Lettes Barker." Fancy the banns being called by the bellman ! I suppose he always published those of the Market Place. In this Church, people of any parish were married, irrespective of residence ; the mention of *parishes* only dates from 1618. So they were at Holy Cross, Canterbury, and many other places ; we find some traces of a similar license at St. Austell.² From Marriages we pass to Funerals. In 1688—the year of the Revolution—we have the first *express* mention of *Burials in Woollen*, which had been enjoined by an Act of Parliament of twenty-two years before ; the idea was, of course, to encourage the woollen manufacture.³ At the end of '79, however, there is evidence that the Act was in force, for we find this " Memorand." at the foot of the funerals—" There was no affidavit made for Peter the son of Stephen Dadow, as I have already certified, according to the

¹ Waters, p. 16.

² " Out of 110 couples who were joined in wedlock in St. Peter's Church, Canterbury, during these four years (1641-4), no less than one hundred came from places outside Canterbury." Meadows Cowper.

³ As senseless a proceeding, as someone has observed, as if the legislature, in order to benefit the farmer, had enjoined that no one should be buried without a sack of flour on the coffin.

Act. Charles Tremayne." The Act of '66 had prescribed that the vesture of the dead, even to "the quilling round the inside of the coffin and the ligature round the feet of the corpse," should be "of woollen only." But this statute was inoperative—who was to know whether its injunctions had been obeyed or not? It was accordingly strengthened in 1678, and in this way: the clergy were now required to enter in the register that affidavits had been brought them, within eight days after the funeral, that the Act had been complied with. So that it presently became the practice for the parish clerk to cry out, whilst the funeral *cortège* still stood round the grave, "Who makes affidavit?"¹ We have no difficulty, consequently, in understanding Mr. Tremayne's remark, and there is, I fear, little doubt that poor Peter Dadow had not been properly habited for his long sleep, and possibly his friends had to pay the fine imposed in such cases—£5, which was applied to the use of the poor.² However, if this was a defiance of the law, it was not the only one in our parish of which we have a record. No affidavit was made respecting Emblyn Bennett in 1680; in '81 there were two such cases; the same in '82; after '89 we read no more of affidavits during Mr. Tremayne's incumbency³; at the end

¹ Waters, p. 20.

² If the Dadows violated the Act, others did the same. Mrs. Oldfield, the celebrated actress, according to the testimony of her maid, Elizabeth Saunders, was charmingly attired in a very fine head-dress of Brussels lace, a holland shift, and a pair of kid gloves, with a winding sheet of fine linen (Waters, p. 12)—a brave array, which called forth Pope's oft-quoted lines—

" 'Odious ! in woollen ! 't would a Saint provoke,
(Were the last words that poor Narcissa spoke):
'No, let a charming chintz and Brussels lace
Wrap my cold limbs and shade my lifeless face;
One would not sure be frighted when one's dead,
And—Betty—give this cheek a little red.' "

³ At St. Oswald's, Durham, in 1678, is an entry, "Mrs. Faith Buck, spinster, bur. *but not in woollen*"; and at St. Mary-le-Bow the same year "Christopher Bell, gent, was *lapped in linen*, contrary to the late act." (*Chron. Mirab.*)

of '95 he was himself laid to rest—beneath the Holy Table in the Church—in his woollen shroud. I may mention here that one of our volumes, of a later date (1767-1811), consists exclusively of *copies* of the Burial Registers, made in order to be submitted to the magistrates to receive their counter-signature. The form may be worth citing. "Cornwall to wit! Seen and allowed by us, three of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the said county, this — of — —." Sometimes the book was submitted to the Bench at Mevagissey; sometimes the magistrates met at Portmellin of all places. The Justices who signed the most frequently were Mr. Fortescue—his large, bold signature is a sight to behold—Mr. H. Hawkins Tremayne, Mr. Joseph Sawle, and Mr. Thomas Graham, but the names of Francis Gregor, Wm. Gregor, Jeremiah Trist, and Edward Collins also appear occasionally. These later copies are generally attested by "R. Hennah, Vicar," once or twice by "Richard Hennah, Junr., Curate." It is perhaps worth observing that for "woollen" is sometimes substituted "*sheeps* woollen *only*," which may suggest to us that *shoddy* was not even then unknown. "Woollen" is spelt with the usual unconstrained freedom—sometimes it is "woolen," sometimes "wooling," sometimes "wollen." In 1808 burials *in linen* attract our attention. The letter P opposite certain names leads to the conclusion that special arrangements were made for paupers.¹ But we have wandered away from our Second Register Book. In the blank space provided for entering the weddings of 1639—which was never done—Mr. Joseph Maye, *fls*, has favoured

¹ By 8 and 9 William III., cap. 30, sect. 2, it was enacted that every person receiving public alms should wear a badge—in the shape of a large Roman P—on the shoulder of the right sleeve, cut either in red or blue cloth. Meadows Cowper, p. 27. In the Wenboston Account Book we find this entry in 1718—"Item, p^d. for two Badges for the Poor, 1s." At St. Columb paupers' funerals were charged half fees.

us with the dates and particulars of his own marriages, the first of which—to Elizabeth Rowcliffe—took place “in the city of Exon,” in 1643: her funeral is recorded under June 19th, 1663; the second—to Ann Bourne, widow—at Stoke Damerel, in Jan., 1663-4, not seven months after poor Elizabeth was laid to rest. He has also utilized a void space after the baptisms of 1651 to record the names of his eight children by his first wife, the proverbial parson’s quiverful, most of which, he tells us, are to be found in the Registers of Winckleigh, Devon. He has also preserved the names of his five step-children, the offspring of Mr. Edmond Bourne; four of them, he tells us, were born “att Pendennis Castle,” and the register tells of three more which the widow Bourne bore to him. Towards the end of the volume, a page is devoted to the

PUBLIQUE COLLECTIONS IN THE P’ISHE OF ST. AUSTELL.

The first entry tells of “flower and twentie shillings and Twopence for and towards the brieffe for repairinge the losses happened by fire in the towne called Piddletrent-head [Puddle Trenthide] in Dorsett . . . on the seacond of Maye 1654.” These “Briefs,” it may be explained, were royal mandates¹ for collections in Churches, and were issued, for the most part, after some great loss or calamity. Collections were formerly so much under governmental control that it was ordered in 1648 that no collections should be made in Churches save such as were issued under the Great Seal under direction of both Houses of Parliament—which suggests abuses; perhaps there had been collections in some shape for the Royalist cause. After the Restoration, owing, it may be, to the ravages wrought

¹ At the Reformation the royal warrant took the place of the Papal letter. Bewes, *Church Briefs*.

by the war, such appeals became very numerous.¹ So much so that Pepys writes (June 20th, 1661), "The trade in briefs is now come up to so constant a course every Sunday that we resolve to give no more to them."² I am afraid a good many people all over the country must have been much of this mind, for the sums collected were, in many cases, ridiculously small. Zincke,³ speaking of Wherstead, observes that "the liberality of some of the collections is remarkable, but still more so is the exiguity of others." The same remark may be made of our St. Austell collections. By far the largest sum—£3 : 13 : 01—was that collected on Oct. 10th, 1666, after the great "ffyre in London"—a really creditable amount, especially as an additional sum of 11s. 2d. was contributed by St. Blazey. Equally remarkable is £1 : 19 : 9 given to "Richard Paschow of this parish." Nor, considering the prodigious difference between the values of money then and now, is 13s. "towardses the brieffe for ffakenham in Norfolke" to be at all despised, or 10s. "for the towne of Great Drayton in the countye of Salop," or 14s. 10d. "for the Cittye of Oxford," or 8s. "for the towne of Byllingbrooke in Lincolne," or "nyne shillings and seavenpence for the Church and tower of Rippon"—still less is 20s. 10d. given to "Robert Body of St. Just,"

¹ In one of these I have a sort of personal interest. The "Old Church" of Pontefract, of which I was once Vicar, was reduced to a ruin during the siege of Pontefract Castle—it was besieged thrice between 1643 and 1647. After the Restoration, in 1661, a Brief was issued on its behalf, and some £1,500 was collected. A part was intercepted somehow, and the remainder was applied to build the Chapel of St. Giles. So the "Old Church," for which alone the money was collected, got nothing. Nor was this a solitary case. The leakage was often prodigious; to issue Briefs cost much money. One in 1709, for example, for the rebuilding of a Church at Colchester (estimated damage by fire £6,000), realized £1,595, but the expenses were £546. Bewes.

² Waters, p. 80. There were three Briefs at St. Austell in April, 1699, and three in January, 1700-1.

³ *Wherstead*, p. 111. He says that *sixpence* was collected for the sufferers at Dover, and wonders how it can have been transmitted.

but 5s. for "David Longe in the Countye of Wilts" is not exactly a munificent contribution, nor was 3s. 6d. "for the poore of Mevagissey"—perhaps the latter were too near neighbours to be very popular. But we shall hear more about these Briefs later on.¹ The baptisms at the time when this book ends (1695) averaged 67 *per annum*, which suggests that the population then approached 2,000. About this time, too, on an average, one illegitimate child is registered annually—there must surely be a mistake somewhere²; in 1695 there were four, and one pair of twins. Passing to the

THIRD BOOK,

I remark in 1699 three entries of "twains" out of 76 births. In 1705 we have an entry by Mr. Hugoe in singularly outspoken language—"Edward, ye base child of Mary Varcoe, a notorious, impudent, brazen-fac'd whore, Jan 21." In 1729 the baptisms amount to 93, but some of the names are those of St. Blazey people: in 1736 there were *twelve* from that parish, and in '39 there were *thirteen*. In 1741 it is observable that ten of those baptized were the children of *soldiers*, whilst in 1740, out of nineteen marriages, four were of soldiers—details which point to a military force somewhere in the parish: what there was to account for its presence I cannot say; in 1744 the young Pretender threatened us with invasion, and in '45 he nearly succeeded. Almost all the marriages are made between parishioners or persons in adjoining parishes: there was not much coming and going in those days. In 1698, however, out of nine weddings, *four* were celebrated at St. Mewan—can our Church have then been closed, and if so, why? The popula-

¹ P. 202.

² Waters remarks, as does Meadows Cowper, that entries of baptisms and burials were sometimes omitted where no fee was paid. Hence the number of bastards and foundlings is uncertain. But see p. 183.

tion of the place about the middle of this century must have been about 2,200, for the baptisms average some 88 *per annum*. All the entries in this book (with a few exceptions) down to 1729 are in the hand of Stephen Hugoe, Vicar, and they appear to have been made with much greater regularity than formerly. But this is only what we find elsewhere, and the reason, no doubt, is that in 1695 the clergy were required to keep a register of all births, whether the children were baptized or not, under a penalty of £100.¹ Add to this that in 1783 a duty of threepence was made payable on the registration of every marriage, baptism, birth or burial, from Oct. 1st,² and we can readily understand why the later registers are so much better kept than the earlier. At Gainsford, in 1653, we find this sad plaint—"Courteous reader, this is to let thee understand that many children were left unrecorded or unredgestered, but the reason and cause was this . . . to save a Groate from the poor Clarke." From 1729, however, for the next thirteen years, the entries were not made by Mr. Hugoe, after which his handwriting reappears until '47, when it disappears finally, though he did not die until '57. The marriage of Mr. Stephen Hugo, Clark, and Mrs. Elizabeth Tremayne is recorded on Dec. 7th, 1696, the year of his appointment, and just one year after the death of her first husband. In 1746 we have *two* lists of marriages—his and somebody else's, perhaps the parish clerk's—and the variations in the spelling of the names are very suggestive. Where the clergyman wrote "Pearce, Lob, Edevean, Hammer, Warn, Pascoe, Runnals, Easterbrooke, Redruth," the clerk

¹ Waters.

² Zincke, *Wherstead*, p. 102. Waters says that some clergy readily entered the baptisms, etc., of Dissenting ministers, because of the fee. Such entries in this county, however, must have been extremely rare. When Defoe came to Cornwall he found only four Meeting Houses.

gives us "Pearse, Lobb, Edyvean, Hamer, Warne, Pasco, Runals, Easterbrook, Redrewth." I say "suggestive," because it is often supposed that the Smiths and Smythes, Clarks and Clarkes, Courteneyes and Courtenays, Jocelyns and Joslins, Vivians and Vyvyans, Hamonds and Hammonds, etc., etc., represent so many different stocks; what they do represent is, in most cases, the arbitrariness of the scribe or the illiteracy of the parish clerk, of which latter I shall give a few specimens presently.¹ In 1708 there was an epidemic of some kind—Mr. Hugoe remarked at the time that there were 76 "burialls," and again in 1730, when there were 124 deaths: 57 in the three summer months. This Vicar was the first to give (though not always) the *mother's* name as well as the father's in the Baptismal Register, as, for example, "Nicholas, y^e son of Robert Robins, *by Dorothy his wife.*" The Burial Registers of this book frequently have a C or Ch in the margin opposite certain names—I first observe it in the second book in 1677—it indicates burial in the Church.² In 1700 is the first mention—also in the margin—of the "Quakers' Burying place": Ruth White was "buried" there on Jan. 29th, and there are eight such entries within the next few years. These were not all St. Austell people, however, Mevagissey, Lostwithiel, Probus, St. Dennis and St. Erme each contributing one or more.³ In

¹ The noble name of "Cecil" has for its original "Sitsilt," and appears at different times as *Sicell*, *Seycil*, *Scisel*, and *Cicil*.

² See p. 93.

³ As I have occasion to mention St. Erme, I cannot forbear a reference to the strange story which Polwhele has culled from its register. This is the entry, under 1699. "Francis Carthew, minister of St. Erme, died one night and revived the next morning, by the operation of the Mighty GOD and now records this truth. He was not put into a coffin, but died in his bed. And unless thou believes that GOD can rise the dead, He will damn thee for ever." He also records that when Lady Mount Edgcumbe was buried, about 1748, the butler came to the vault to possess himself of her rings. As he was busy about his work, the corpse stirred, whereupon he fled in affright, leaving the lantern behind him. The lady, he adds, arose and proceeded to the mansion.

1715 one such burial is incorporated *into the text*.¹ The public collections recorded in this book do not conduce to an exalted estimate of Parson Hugoe's persuasiveness or popularity: certainly they did not yield magnificent results. For Heavtree Church, destroyed by fire, there was contributed 5s. 6d., though the loss was estimated at £991. For Dursley Church, which had sustained damage to the amount of £1,995, 3s. 6d. was subscribed; for Orford Church, Suffolk, which it would cost £1,450 to repair, the amount collected was 2s. 7d. But these sums appear to be almost substantial, compared with 8½d. for Southam Church, which had sustained injury to the estimated amount of £4,454 15s., and 7½d.² towards the loss by fire in "Charles Street, Middlesex"; one cannot help conjecturing how much the combined offerings of the Vicar and the two Churchwardens contributed towards such heroic totals. The largest amount collected during this period was £2 : 2 : 4½ "for the redemption of poor captives . . . under the Emperor of Fez and Morocco, being over 300 persons"—this was in Jan., 1700.³ It is very observable how the thought of Englishmen in durance vile and in Moslem hands appealed to the generous sympathies of our countrymen.

¹ One is thankful to find that our Vicars and Clerks have abstained from all spiteful reference to such interments, for this has not always been the case. At Knipton, in 1665, the register tells how "Cecily Grosse, an Anabaptist, ye wife of J. Grosse, Oatmeal-man, was Anabaptistically buried." But this is mild compared with these entries in the book of Toddington, Beds. "1725. Bernard Stoniford, hurled into a grave," and, "1728. Mary Shaw, widow, hurled into ye ground." It does not strike us as the way to win Dissenters.

² Waters, p. 80, cites some similar collections elsewhere. At Stock Harward, in 1707, towards a brief for Towcester, which had lost £1,057 by fire, was given 9½d., and the next year 7d. was contributed towards a loss by fire of £31,770 at Lisburn. Towards this latter object St. Austell contributed £1 : 0 : 10.

³ In 1670 was gathered at Wherstead "the just sum of forty shillings and twopence towards the redemption of the poore captives in Turkey." "Fifteen years before, Blake had taught the Algerines to respect the English flag, but without putting an end to their piracies." Zincke, *Wherstead*, p. 111.

The collections for this object were equally large elsewhere. At Scraptoft, Co. Leicester, on July 28th, 1679, £1 : 11 : 3 was contributed to redeem one captive, "Thomas, son of Mr. Owsley, Rector of Gloosten, taken by the Algerines," and at Weedon Beck, Northants, on August 9th, 1680, £1 8s. was collected "for the redemption of Christians (taken by y^e Turkish pyrates) out of Turkish slavery."¹ We can hardly realize in these days what a terror the "unspeakable Turk" has been to Europe, or how long his corsairs ravaged its seas. But to return. In 1710 there were *five* collections, which yielded altogether the sum of 18s. 6½d., after which Mr. Hugoe would seem to have despaired of his parishioners (as perhaps they did of him), for we hear of no further charitable appeals. The

FOURTH BOOK,

is of parchment, but only extends from 1752 to 1766, during most of which period the Rev. Walter Harte was Vicar. It is quite likely that he never saw the registers, for he was Canon of Windsor and much about the Court—I daresay he seldom appeared at St. Austell after his induction²; anyhow, the registers are in the same uneducated writing as in the last years of Mr. Hugoe's reign, and this vile character continues until the accession of Mr. Hennah in 1775. The spelling is sometimes agonizing—we have "Henery, Florance, Patiance,

¹ These entries are given in Waters, p. 80.

² A story is told of a pluralist Vicar and Dean of Burian, near the Land's End, who took it into his head to visit for once his remote parish, and condescended to relieve the Curate by preaching the morning sermon. He was afterwards introduced to one of the Churchwardens, who was so overjoyed that he ran to fetch his colleague. "Mr. —," he cried, "this is our Vicar!" whereupon both stared at him as if he were a Hottentot. As soon as they had somewhat recovered, they expressed their great pleasure at making his acquaintance, and then stammered out, as was only proper, a compliment—they said he had "given them an excellent sermon." "So it ought to be," he replied, "I paid three guineas for it!"

Jeney, Margeret, Tamesin, Faney [Fanny], Samvel, Sarle, Jeremyah, Burlace, Uague [Vague], Widdow," etc., etc.¹ In one place and in one line he boldly supplies two versions of the same name for us to choose from—"Jenepher *Hammer*, the child of An *Hamer*": we are reminded of Mr. Billings, who "didn't take no count of people who couldn't spell a word more'n one way."² In the year 1752 there is a break, or a new page is begun, owing to the adoption of the "New Style" in that year, when the 3rd of September became the 14th.³ In 1753 we notice another change: the years now run from January to December, instead of from March 25th to March 25th. With the

FIFTH BOOK (1767-1812),

which roughly coincides with Mr. Hennah's incumbency, our study of these records must, for the present at least, conclude. These later volumes cannot, of course, have the same interest as the earlier; still, their testimony is not to be despised. This book shows, for example, that at the beginning of the century the population had touched 3,000, for the baptisms now average 119 *per annum*. It tells us, again, that illegitimacy had increased at a still greater rate, and that notwithstanding the religious revival which had made such a deep impression on this county. Mr. Hawker, of Morwenstow, used to say—I think most unjustly—that Wesley persuaded the people to change their sins. They little know Wesley who write such words as these. Had he affirmed that the result of that

¹ Someone would almost seem to have expostulated with him about "Widdow," for in later entries it is spelt correctly.

² In the Registers of St. Nicholas Acons, as, I daresay, in hundreds of other parishes, we have similar variations, almost if not altogether in the same line. Here is one instance—"Jams *fincham*, the sonne of Jams *fincham* and margret his wife."

³ The change encountered much opposition. "Give us back our eleven days!" became a political cry. It was quite as sensible as many other such cries.

preaching was in many cases that they merely did change them, I should be disposed to agree with him; that is the result of much of our preaching. In 1797 there were *six* such births entered, in 1798 *seven*, in 1799 *nine*. It also shows how epidemics still ravaged our parishes. In 1777,¹ out of 44 deaths in November and December, 34 were from small-pox²—which is indicated by the letters S. P. in the margin. Double Christian names, even down to 1812, are almost unknown, and our sweet British and Anglo-Saxon appellations, our Arthurs and Ediths and Winifreds, are conspicuous by their absence.³

I should like, in concluding this part of my task, to express the pious wish that our earlier registers may some day be published *in extenso*, as those of some other parishes have been. To the descendants of our old families they must be replete with interest, just as they are full of information to the careful and discerning reader. Nor do I think their publication undesirable because these old records, as the reader will have observed, use great plainness of speech and call a spade a spade. I have had to quote some observations which are not exactly delicate, according to modern ideas, but then we have not yet arrived at an expurgated Bible.

¹ Canterbury had a similar visitation of small-pox in 1783, and the deaths from that disease are similarly marked. That, too, was the year of the severe frost, which lasted for eight weeks.

² The Rector of East Worlington wrote in 1726—"The small-pox is so very hot and mortal at Barnstaple that the major part of my parish that intend to be confirmed are afraid to appear at his Lordship's visitation there, as I am also myself." Reynolds, p. 409.

³ Jenefer is common enough. And this is a corruption of Guinevere.

CHAPTER X.

THE BODMIN RECORDS.

NEXT to our own Registers and the "Account Booke" of the Twelve Men, we learn more about our forefathers from the archives preserved in the District Registry at Bodmin than from any other quarter. For there we find not only copies of the last wills and testaments of our more substantial parishioners, but the "presentments" of our Churchwardens tendered from time to time at the Court of the Archdeacon of Cornwall. I cannot pretend to have explored this mine—at least, to any depth—but I think a few particulars, gathered from the surface, may be of interest to their descendants and others. It will suffice if I set down two columns—the first two—of the Probate Register, which merely gives the name of the testator, and records the day, month and year when the will was proven, or when letters of administration were taken out. The "I. ex." in the margin stands for *Inventory exhibited*: in cases of intestacy a full account had to be given of the goods and estate of the deceased. "T. p." represents *Testament proven*. I only reproduce here the I's and T's. These wills begin with April, 1570. After the first three entries, I give the dates in modern dress.

" Thom^a. Carlyan, dec^d xxij^o Aprilis, 1570

Elizth. Getchat „ xxviiij^o Julii 1570

I William Minor „ xj^o Junii 1570

T	John Sincoke	dec ^d	March 13, 1570-1
T	Sampson Remfra	„	„ 29, 1571
I	John Killegrin	„	„ „ „
T	Jno. Barrett		April 20 „
I	Martin Powell		May 10 „
I	Robert Chailie	„	„ „ „
I	Richard Lyodye	„	„ „ „
T	Thom ^a . Carlighan	„	„ „ „
T	Henry Lee		Aug. 1 „
T	John Clements		Jan. 14 1571-2
T	Henry Bealbery		Feb. 13 „
T	Germain Julian		March 4 „
T	Richard Sawll		„ 11 „
T	Thomas Carlyan ¹		May 10 1572
I	Richard Ingram		Oct. 9 „
T	Roger Terell		March 20, 1580-1
T	John Rescorla		July 20 1572
T	William Opie		May 10 1574
T	John Gomowe		Nov. 20 „
T	Robert Peres		Dec. 21 „
I	John Vivyan		April 4 1578
T	Richard Ingram ¹		May 10 „
T	Pascoe Julian	„	„ „ „
T	Philipp Sherme		Dec. 12 „
T	William Bearden		May 16 1579
T	Richard Moyll		July 28 1580
	Henry	„	„ „
T	William Carlyan		May 11 1581
T	Thomas Callard		June 23 „
T	Thomas Coler	„	„ „
I	Pascoe Bond		Nov. 11 1582
I	John Darke		Jan. 8 1582-3
T	Thomas Collynge	„	15 „
T	John Harrison		July 27 1583
I	Thomas Lanworthie		April 24 „

¹ Possibly a second grant.

T	John Clemence	Sept. 3	1583
T	John Laa	" 27	"
T	Thomas Hoskinge	May 4	1585
T	Joanna Avrean	July 30	"
I	John Carn	Jan. 11	"
I	John John	March 24	1585-6
T	John Farell	June 9	1586
T	Stephen Tredinham	Nov. 13	"
T	Thomas Triscott	June 19	"
T	John Cole	May 10	1587
T	Richard Richards	Oct. 4	"
I	William Braye	Nov. 8	"
I	Edward Knight	Dec. 4	"
T	John Vyvian	Feb. 14	"
T	Alice Terrell	March 13	1587-8
T	Thomas	" 15	"
	Thomas	April 15	1588
	John	" "	"
	Constance Collins	May 13	"
	William Minhere	June 12	"
	John Brode	" "	"

It would only weary the reader were I to continue these lists. I may add, however, that among the names between 1588 and 1602 are the following—Margarete Goomo, John Treganowen, John Moile, Thomas Hodge, Wm. Opie, Cosegarn, Robyns, Soper, Hugh, Burnard, Dadowe, Ivie, Pascoty, Cocke, Peres, Salaman Nancollas, Richard Sawll, Jagoe, Rowatt, Rowse, Hawkin, Congdon, Body, Tonkin, Treleaven, Woolcock, Honny and May, nearly all of which are found here still.

The Archidiaconal archives entitled the "Causes of Office" are not, as a rule, very pleasant reading. They are for the most part complaints of immorality. Here are a few samples, all of them pertaining to our parish.

"Parish of } We the Churchwardens of the aforesaid Parish at the
 St. Austell } Archdeacon's Court held at Truro, the twenty-fifth day of
 April, 1769, present John Harford for being the reputed Father of a Base
 child by Mary Vercoe, otherwise Varcar, of our said parish. And we
 hereby certify that we have no other presentments to make

Sam^l Hodge,
 Jacob Borlase."

The following is of an earlier date, viz., 1747—

"We present Richard Hancock of our said Parish for being the reputed
 ffather of a Base child by Elizabeth Hancock, his own brother's widow,
 and for cohabiting with the said Elizabeth Hancock under a pretence of
 being lawfully married to her the said Elizabeth Hancock.

Sam^l. Hendy.
 Rich^d. Williams."

Similar indictments are brought, in 1770 against "John
 Phillips of the parish of Roach, yeoman," and "Jane Cock of
 our said parish"; against William Pearce of Mevagissey and
 Ann Mills of St. Austell—this was in '68; against John Leach
 and Mary Cornelious in '73; against John Harding and Eliza-
 beth Row in '79—the Churchwardens at this time were Saml.
 Hendy (he seems to have been a jealous guardian of our
 morals) and Oliver Nancollas; against Peter Hammer and
 Essabella Dallen in 1780, in which year they also presented
 Margery Barons and Mary Woolcock, each "for having a
 Base child by a Person to us unknown." There are also many
 presentments "ffor antenuptial fornication"—among them
 Radulphus Maye in 1707—and some for non-payment of
 ecclesiastical dues.¹ In 1742 we come across a faint gleam of
 humour. Hugh Hewett and John Tallack, the Churchwardens
 for the time being, "doe hereby p'sent two of our Bells for
 being broken."

¹ On Jan. 11th, 1665, "Sybella Prout, of Lancelton, was presented by John Ruddle the
 minister, for refusing to cohabit with her own husband, and for railing against the Bishops."

CHAPTER XI.

OUR CHURCH PLATE.

THOUGH our sacred vessels cannot boast of any great antiquity—"the examples of pre-Reformation art now left in England are very few"¹—yet our two silver-gilt chalices, and possibly our flagons, are deserving of a brief inspection. These chalices are not indeed, as has sometimes been supposed, of a great age; still, they go back to the days of good Queen Bess, and that is something. No doubt they make a poor show, put them all together, in comparison with that which our Church had once to exhibit. "It is difficult," says Mr. Wilfrid Cripps, "to realize the splendour of the display that met the eye as one entered a great Cathedral or a wealthy Parish Church in the third century before the Reformation."² But most of these disappeared at the time of the Reformation—many of them were altogether unsuited to the Reformed ritual. Some—perhaps the majority—were sold by the parishioners, the amounts they yielded being expended in altering and adapting the Churches; some were

¹ Cripps, *Old English Plate*, p. 174.

² The Archbishops, and notably Winchelsey in 1305 and Simon in 1368, required a long list of articles to be provided and maintained. Even as late as 1552, St. Olave's, Southwark, possessed 1062 oz. of silver, and a Norwich Church about the same time 857 oz.; and this after the king had laid his rapacious hand on so many treasures of the Church. Cripps, p. 176.

stolen, if we may trust the Churchwardens' Accounts¹; some devoted to secular purposes, "over £200 worth of plate belonging to the Churches of the City of Exeter being applied to the use of making the canal"²; whilst at St. Gluvias £20, which they had in hand from the sale of jewels, was devoted to building a Market House in Penryn.³ Some were confiscated by the Crown—it was in the last year of Edward VI. that his commissioners attached what was left; they left to each parish, however, "one, two, or more chalices or cuppes."⁴ What our Church possessed at the time of this commission (1552) may be seen above on p. 120, note. Everything has disappeared. Perhaps we cannot wonder at it, for the old chalices were never designed for the "*communion* of the blood of CHRIST"; they were meant for a mutilated Sacrament, one in which the cup is denied to the lay people. And so they went their way; they were reckoned among the "monuments of superstition"; they were replaced by cups both longer and larger. And in Cornwall and throughout the West this change was made about 1576 or '77, whilst every village far and near was provided with its "fair and comely communion cup" by 1580.⁵ And with this date agree the hall-marks still discernible on our much-worn chalices: they show, too, that these are of London make, not Exeter, as we might have expected,⁶ and that they were stamped in 1573-4.

¹ An extraordinary number of losses by *thieves* are mentioned in these records, especially between 1547 and 1553. Cripps suggests that this was the quietest way of accounting for the missing articles.

² Reynolds, p. 184.

³ *State Papers—Domestic*, 1601-3, p. 398.

⁴ In the Visitation of 1559 we find inquiries about "prophane cuppes, bowles, dishes," etc. Cripps, p. 180.

⁵ Cripps, p. 182. He adds that Grindal, who was then Archbishop of York, in 1571 required the clergy to minister the Eucharist in a communion cup of silver, with a cover of silver for the bread.

⁶ The Norwich and Exeter goldsmiths had patterns of their own, and the latter produced especially handsome vessels, many of them richly gilt or parcel gilt. Cripps, p. 208, who gives a drawing of a chalice, in shape and engraving very much like ours.

It has also been inferred from a bead which runs round them, not far from the rim, that they were constructed to sustain a cover; probably they had covers, which were used as patens, each of them fitted with a foot, which served as a handle to the cover, but I question whether they rested on this bead-line. Of our other vessels the oldest is a flagon, on the front of which are engraved the arms of the Hexts, with the inscription, *Ex dono Samuelis Hext, gen., 1708*. As we find the interment of "Sam^l Hext, gent.," amongst those of 1706, I conclude that this vessel was bought by a sum bequeathed by him, or was provided at his request. Next in point of time comes a paten, which has in its centre a *mule*, the crest of the Moyles. The hall-mark shows that it was stamped in 1718-19, but it also bears the date 1719 below the crest, to the left of which are the letters M. M., and on the right E. M.—"Mrs. Emlyn Moyle's" burial (in the Church) is among those of the preceding year. Another paten, similar in size and shape, is emblazoned with the arms of the Sawles; it was given in 1752 (the hall-mark is that of 1722), but what the letters A on the one side of the escutcheon and B on the other mean, I cannot be certain—Anne Sawle had married the Rev. Jas. Beauford, Rector of Lanteglos, earlier in the century, and it may be her gift. The large silver dish with a foot comes, like the rest, from the London assay office, and its date is proclaimed by the hall-mark to be 1731. We have two more flagons—one devoid of any inscription, but of the date of 1722; the other, the largest of the three, bears this legend—"The gift of Mary Sawle, late of Totnes, widow, dec^d, to the Church Service of St. Austle, Cornwall, by her last will, 1754." I take this to be the widow of John Sawle (son and heir of Joseph Sawle by Amy Trevanion), who was born in 1695 and died

without living issue in 1715—their only child, Trevanion Sawle, died in Jan., 1714-15. Mary Sawle's maiden name does not seem to be known, but she was a cousin of the Carews of Antony.¹ A former Vicar used to display all three flagons on the Holy Table at every celebration, which unfortunately suggested to some the idea of a sideboard. None of them, however, were then used for the purpose to which they had all been consecrated, but one of the number served to conceal a black bottle, from which the wine was poured direct into the chalice. Thanks to the Church revival, *nous avons changé tout ça*.

It is significant that all these gifts to the Church were made during Mr. Hewgoe's incumbency, perhaps the very dearest period of English Church history. It seems strange that an age which contributed collections of a few pence to charitable objects should nevertheless evoke so many and such substantial offerings. But it not unfrequently happens that men who have been indifferent to religion during life try, "when dying," to

"put on the weeds of Dominic,
Or as Franciscans think to pass disguised,"

and it must also be remembered that such offerings flatter and gratify the giver: they keep his memory green, and men speak well of him, whilst only GOD knows what goes into the bag. And "the Kadi," says the Eastern proverb, is near, "and GOD is a long way off."

¹ Vivian, *Visitations of Cornwall*, p. 419.

CHAPTER XII.

OUR VICARS.

FROM the Church and its contents, its Plate and its Registers, it is a natural transition to pass to the Vicars and Priests who have at different times officiated therein. I say "*Vicars and Priests*," because, as already stated, for over two centuries—from 1300 to 1520—there was a Chantry, a Chapel in the Churchyard, with its separate clergy and ministrations, though associated with and forming part of the Parish Church. And I owe, and I think St. Austell owes, a great debt of gratitude to Prebendary Hingeston-Randolph, Rector of Ringmore, who, with a singular industry and patience, has compiled for us from the Exeter Registers complete lists of the clergy instituted to these two benefices. These lists I shall now give, in his own words,¹ and I shall then ask the reader to join me in a brief study of their contents, and shall tell him what is known about my predecessors.

THE VICARS OF ST. AUSTELL.

(From the Episcopal Registers—A.D. 1257 to the present time.)

- (1) JOHN NOREYS, priest, instituted 4 Aug., 1259; Patrons (throughout, till the Dissolution), the Prior and Convent of Tywardreath. (Register Bronescombe, fol. 6b.)

¹ The *Notes* I am responsible for, and for a few additions to the text indicated by the letter H. When I speak of these lists as "complete," I mean complete as far as the Registers show. There were, certainly, earlier Vicars, and there *may* have been one or two later ones of whom we have no record.

- (2) SIR ROBERT, a chaplain, instituted 12 March, 1280. (*Ibid*, fol. 95 b.)
- (3) NICHOLAS DE PODEFORDE, deacon (to be ordained priest at the next Ember Season), collated by lapse 8 April, 1284, on account of the negligence of the Prior and Convent. (Register Quivil, fol. 124.) The Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV. was made in 1288-1291, and shews that the annual value of the Rectory was then £10 13s. 4d., Tenth—£1 1s. 4d.; and that of the Vicarage £2. The Benefice became void 14 July, 1310, and
- (4) SIR RANDULPH DE ROSSYDENET, priest, was instituted, 31 Aug. following. (Register Stapeldon, fol. 54 b.) It again became void 11 Aug., 1323, and
- (5) ROGER DOLLYNGE, deacon, was instituted, 17 Oct. following. (*Ibid*, fol. 181.) The next Vicar was
- (6) SIR LAURENCE DE CARNBYGAN, whose institution is not recorded; but on his death
- (7) SIR ROBERT DE TRESODORNE, priest, was instituted, 26 April, 1362.¹ (Register Grandisson, iii., fol. 142.) He exchanged for the Rectory of Botusfleming with
- (8) SIR JOHN KYLMYNANTHE,² who was instituted 15 Dec., 1377; Patron, King Edward III., in consequence of the war with France, Tywardreath being an alien Priory. (Register Brantingham, ii., fol. 50 b.) On whose death
- (9) JOHN JUYL,³ chaplain, succeeded, 2 April, 1391; Patron, still the King, now Richard II. (*Ibid*, fol. 121 b.) On whose death
- (10) VIVIAN CODAN, chaplain, was instituted, 11 Dec., 1414; Patron, King Henry V., for the same reason as before. (Register Stafford, ii., fol. 162 b.) The next Vicar was

¹ In 1371-2 the Vicar of St. Austell was appointed Penitentiary for the Deanery of Powder. (Register Brantingham, vol. i., fol. 18.)

² John Kylmynant was ordained deacon by the Archbishop of Canterbury in his Chapel at Hierne on April 16th, 1351, *ad titulum Prioris et Conventus Lancestonie per Dimissorias*. (Register Islepe, fol. 311.) His presentation to this Vicarage is found recorded in a Patent Roll of the date of Dec. 14th, 1377.

³ Preb. Hingeston-Randolph informs me that John Jul, Vicar of St. Austell, was one of six persons who were handed over to the secular arm by the Bishop for contumacy on Jan. 4th, 1398-9. Among the others were the Rector of St. Mewan and the Chaplain of Carhayes, also a layman of Veryan bearing the name of John Symon Montfort; the double Christian name at this date is remarkable. *Register of Bishop Stafford*, p. 60, Note 2.

- (11) SIR WILLIAM CODAN, chaplain, who was instituted, on Vivian Codan's resignation, 26 Feb., 1445-6. (Register Lacy, ii., fol. 220.) From this time the Priory again presents continuously. On whose death
- (12) SIR LUKE PHILIPPE, chaplain, was instituted, 1 Jan., 1448-9. (*Ibid*, fol. 240 b.) The next Vicar was
- (13) MASTER ROBERT AISCOCHE, whose institution is not recorded. He resigned 17 Aug., 1467, and
- (14) SIR THOMAS DENYS, chaplain, was instituted on the 21st of the same month. (Register Bothe, fol. 9.) He was succeeded by
- (15) SIR RICHARD MARKE, whose institution is not recorded; but on his resignation
- (16) MASTER WILLIAM EWRYN, chaplain, was instituted, 18 Oct., 1500. (Register Redmayne, fol. 17 b.) He was succeeded by
- (17) MASTER PETER LYGHAM, Doctor of Decrees, whose institution is not recorded; but on his resignation
- (18) ROBERT TREGUNWELL, M.A., was instituted, 14 April, 1522. (Register Vesey, fol. 11 b.) [He made the return for the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* in 1536, when the Vicarage was valued at £21 per annum; Tenths, £2 2s.] On whose death .
- (19) WILLIAM HARRYWATTS, priest, was instituted, 21 June, 1543. (*Ibid*, fol. 110 b.) [His name appears in the Composition Book under the date of July 2, 1543. H.] On his death
- (20) MASTER NICHOLAS NICHOLLS, M.A., was instituted 29 Oct., 1547; Patron, King Edward VI. (*Ibid*, fol. 127.) His successor [in the "Vicaria de Austell et Blasy"] was
- (21) SIR JOHN BRIDGEWATER, priest, who was instituted 2 April, 1550; Patron, the same. (*Ibid*, fol. 136.) He was succeeded by
- (22) HAMUND HANSERT, who was instituted 9 March, 1556-7; Patrons, Philip and Mary. (Register Turberville, fol. 15.) His successor in the Vicarage, which is described as "*certo modo vacantem*," was
- (23) ROBERT BRACHER, S. S. Bacc., instituted 24 July, 1563; Patron, Queen Elizabeth. (Register Alley, fol. 82 b.) On whose death
- (24) JOHN BISSHOPPE, clerk, was instituted, 9 July, 1571; Patron, the same. (Register Bradbridge, fol. 2.) He was succeeded by
- (25) DANIEL NAYLAND. As his name appears in the Composition Book, there can be no doubt that he was instituted before 30 April, 1574, the date of his composition. [H.]

- (26) RALPH MAY, clerk, who was instituted 28 July, 1584; Patron, the same. (Register Woolton, ii., fol. 18. Woolton was then acting as Commissary of the Archbp.) On whose resignation¹ was instituted
- (27) JOSEPH MAY, M.A., clerk, 1 June, 1621; Patron, King James I. (Register Cotton, fol. 115.) During the Rebellion there were, of course, no Episcopal Registers. In Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, May is described as Vicar of St. Neot and also of St. Austell—"He was succeeded in one of the Livings, on the Sequestration, by one Bond; but the Plague happening to come into the Parish some time after, Bond fled, and got to Maugan-Meneage, another sequestered Living in this County. Upon which Mr. May assumes the care of the Parish, and continued to discharge all the Offices of it throughout the whole time of the Sickness; during which the Plague came not nigh his Dwelling, so as to enter. For though it raged all about him, yet not one of his Family had it. As soon as the sickness was over, Mr. May was again turned out; but whether by Bond, or by Mr. Machin, whom I find at St. Neot during some part of the confusions, or by another Person,² I know not. He hath a Sermon extant, called *Epaphras*." (Page 305.) The next Vicar was
- (28) WILLIAM UPCOTT, intruded during the Commonwealth period.³ [H.] He was displaced by

¹ He did not die until 1623. The interment of "RADULPHUS MAY, VICARIUS," is recorded in our Register as taking place on July 28th of that year.

² I am able, in part at least, to supply Walker's lack of information. For after a long and fruitless search, I at last discovered in the Lambeth Registers [See Note 2, p. 30] that *William Upcott* was intruded as Vicar of St. Austell into Maye's place. But whether he succeeded Bond or Bond him, or whether Bond was ever here at all, or *when* Upcott became minister, it is impossible to determine. All that the Register yields is this—

THE PLACE.	THE P'SON	SUME
St. Austell	W ^m Upcott	80 : 0 : 0 ye profits

Not even the date of his appointment is recorded. The *Composition Book* contains only twelve names for the whole of the Commonwealth period, and of these Upcott's name is not one. His Vicariate is mentioned by Hals, who was a connection of his—*Arcades ambo*.

³ At Folkestone, the register marks the reign of the intruding clergy very conspicuously, thus—

<p>In the time of the usurper William Russell and John Baker.</p>

- (29) JOSEPH MAYE, JUNIOR, clerk. The See of Exeter was void, and consequently Maye, on his presentation by King Charles II., was instituted by Archbishop Juxon, 17 Aug., 1660. (Juxon's Register, fol. 24.)
- [JOB WEALE, clerk (see p. 222).] His institution is not recorded in the Exeter registers. Soon after his death
- (30) CHARLES TREMAINE, clerk, was instituted, 26 Sept., 1675. (New Series, vol. ii., p. 45.) His Patron was King Charles II. On his death
- (31) STEPHEN HEWGEOE, clerk, B.A., succeeded, 11 April, 1696; Patron, William III. (N. S., vol. iv., p. 17.) He was Vicar for 62 years, and on his death
- (32) WALTER HARTE, clerk, M.A., was instituted, 15 April, 1758; Patron, George II. (N. S., vol. viii., p. 68.) On whose death
- (33) RICHARD HENNAH, clerk, B.A., was instituted, 28 March, 1775; Patron, George III. (N. S., vol. ix., p. 103.) On whose death
- (34) THOMAS SCOTT SMYTH, clerk, M.A., was instituted, 31 May, 1815; Patron, the same. (N. S., vol. xi., p. 75.) On whose resignation
- (35) FORTESCUE TODD, clerk, LL.B., was instituted, 4 Oct., 1838; Patron, Queen Victoria. (N. S., vol. xii., p. 134.) On whose death
- (36) JOSEPH HAMMOND, clerk, B.A. and of Laws, was instituted, 7 Oct., 1881; Patron, the same. (Truro Book, vol. i., p. 37.)

THE CHANTRY PRIESTS IN THE CHAPEL OF ST. MICHAEL WITHIN THE CEMETERY.

Copy of the Royal License, from the Patent Roll, 29 Edw. I., m. 10—

"Rex omnibus, etc. Licet de communi consilio Regni nostri, etc., per finem, etc., coram Venerabili Patre, Waltero, Coventrensi et Lichefeldensi Episcopo, Thesaurario nostro, concessimus, etc., Magistro Philippo de Sancto Austolo, Archidiacono Wintonie, quod ipse unum mesuagium et tres ferlingatas terre, cum pertinenciis, in Menkudul dare possit et assignare tribus Capellanis, Divina pro anima ejusdem Philippi, in Capella Sancti Michaelis in Villa de Sancto Austolo constructa, singulis diebus celebraturis . . . imperpetuum." (28 June, 1301.)

WARDENS. The first Warden was

- (1) SIR JOHN DE TRENANSVEDEKE; on whose death, which occurred 20 May, 1319,

- (2) SIR RALPH DE RETYN, priest, was instituted, 7 June following; Patrons, the Prior and Convent of Tywardreath. (Register Stapeldon, fol. 141 b.) His successor [Retyn having become Vicar of Treneglos, 8 June, 1322 (*Ibid*, fol. 176 b.),
- (3) SIR HENRY DE TREVERBYN, priest, was collated by lapse, 12 March, 1322-3. (*Ibid*, fol. 174 b.) He exchanged Benefices with
- (4) JOHN BRAY, priest, Vicar of Fowey, who was instituted 5 Aug., 1336; Patrons, the Prior and Convent of Tywardreath. (Register Grandisson, iii., fol. 35.) He exchanged Benefices with
- (5) SIR JOHN DE TREWYTHOSA,¹ "Primarius Ecclesie Collegiate de Suthmallynge," who was instituted 4 Aug., 1340; Patrons, the same. (*Ibid*, fol. 43.) His successor [no doubt he fell a victim to "the Black Death"] was
- (6) SIR JOHN PAYON, priest, who was collated by lapse, 12 Oct., 1349, to the "Perpetua Cantaria Capelle Beati Michaelis, in ala dextera Ecclesie Sancti Austoli situate." [This is very interesting as shewing the position of this Chantry Chapel: the Chancel and its aisles are of good *early* fourteenth century work.] (*Ibid*, fol. 87.) His successor was
- (7) SIR ROBERT DE NYWENHAM, priest, who was instituted 25 Aug., 1360; Patron, King Edward III., "racione Prioratus de Tywardrathe existentis in manu sua, occasione guerre inter ipsum Regem et adversarios suos Francie mote . . . salvo jure cujuscumque"; Witnesses, Masters Benedict de Pastone, Nicholas de Braibroke, and Roger Inkepenne. (*Ibid*, fol. 121.) He was succeeded by
- (8) LAURENCE BOSKEVELEKE, priest, who was collated by lapse 15 Feb., 1364-5. (*Ibid*, fol. 151 b.) On the resignation of Sir Laurence Boscofelde (*sic*),
- (9) SIR JOHN STEPHYN, priest, succeeded (by exchange for his Vicarage of Lanlivery), 25 Jan., 1370-1; Patron, the same. (Register Brantingham, ii., fol. 11.) Stephyn exchanged, for the Vicarage of Bently, Diocese of London, with
- (10) SIR PHILIP ROGERS, who was instituted 5 Nov., 1376; Patron, the same. (*Ibid*, fol. 45 b.) He exchanged for the Rectory of Grendon-Underwood, Diocese of Lincoln, with

¹ In 1334 a Simon de Trewythosa was informer in a case of assault at St. Keverne. *Calendar of Close Rolls*.

- (11) SIR THOMAS WOUBOURNE, who was instituted 27 April, 1377; Patron, the same. (*Ibid*, fol. 48.) He exchanged for the Rectory of Withcall, Diocese of Lincoln, with
- (12) JOHN DE MYNSTRETONE, chaplain, who was instituted 27 June, 1377; Patron, the same. (*Ibid*, fol. 50.) He [here called John Spenser de Mistretone] exchanged for the Rectory of St. Mary Magdalene, Widley, Diocese of Winchester, with
- (13) HENRY PACE,¹ who was instituted 8 May, 1378; Patron, still, the King, because of the war with France. (*Ibid*, fol. 51 b.) Sir Henry Pake (*sic*)² exchanged for the Rectory of St. Leonards, Beaumont [Belmont, MS.], Diocese of London, with
- (14) SIR RICHARD WHITEFOTE,³ who was instituted 1 April, 1379; Patron, still, the King. (*Ibid*, fol. 56 b.) On whose death
- (15) SIR HENRY STONTONE, chaplain, was instituted, 14 Aug., 1381; Patron, as before, the King. (*Ibid*, fol. 67 b.) He exchanged for the Vicarage of Hutton, Diocese of London, with
- (16) WILLIAM MARKOWE, who was instituted 10 Feb., 1400-1; Patrons, the Prior and Convent. (Register Stafford, ii. 52 b.) His successor was
- (17) JOHN SOOR, chaplain, who was instituted 20 Oct., 1408; Patron, King Henry IV., because of the war with France (as above). He exchanged for the Deanery of the Collegiate Church of St. Crantock with

¹ The presentation of Henry Pace, parson of the Church of St. Mary Magdalene, Wydelegb, is recorded in a Patent Roll dated May 1st, 1378—the first year of Richard II.—and that of Whitefote, who succeeded him, in a Roll of March 16th, 1379. It will be observed that six of the Chantry priests in succession came or went by reason of an exchange, and that within ten years.

² "Pace" (so described in the Roll of '38) is called "Pak" in that of '39.

³ From an extract from the Register of Bishop Brantingham (Vol. i., fol. 84 b), also kindly supplied me by Preb. Hingeston-Randolph, it appears that the fruits of the Rectory of St. Clether *et Capelle seu Cantarie sue apud Sanctum Austolum* were sequestered during Whitfote's incumbency (in 1380). I give a part of the mandate. "Ad nostram audienciam est deductum quod Ricardus Whitfote, Rector Ecclesie Parochialis Sancti Cledri in Cornubia, predicte nostre Diocesis, plures defectus notabiles tam in Cancellis Ecclesie predictae et Capelle Sancti Michaelis in Cimiterio Ecclesie Sancti Austoli, ejusdem nostre Diocesis, prefate Ecclesie Sancti Cledri annexe, quam in donibus et clausuris ejusdem [eisdem?] Rectorie et Capelle pertinentibus, sua negligencia et incuria, dimittit notorie incorrectos. Nec Ecclesie aut Capelle prefatis officiat ut tenetur, sed ab eis, absque nostra Licencia et causa racionabili, in grave anime sue periculum, se absentat."

- (18) THOMAS HENDEMAN, chaplain, S. T. P., who was instituted 25 Feb., 1409-10; Patron, the King. (*Ibid*, fol. 108*b*.) Hendeman was Rector of Sampford-Courtenay, 1403-1410; Archdeacon of Exeter, 1409-1416; Vicar of St. Winnow, 1411-1412; of Widecombe-in-the-Moor, Aug. to Oct., 1412; Rector of Farway, 1412-1415; he was instituted to St. Mabyn in 1415, and collated to the Chancellorship of the Cathedral in 1416, when he resigned his Archdeaconry.¹ On whose resignation
- (19) JOHN SUTTONE, chaplain, LL.B., was instituted, 22 Aug., 1411; Patron, the same. On Suttone's resignation
- (20) SIR JOHN ALET, chaplain, was instituted, 19 April, 1449; Patrons, the Prior and Convent. (Register Lacy, ii., fol. 243.) On whose resignation
- (21) SIR JOHN CRANE, chaplain, was instituted, 26 April, 1454; Patrons, the same. (*Ibid*, fol. 280*b*.) On whose death
- (22) SIR STEPHEN HALL, chaplain, was instituted, 20 May, 1477; Patrons, the same. (Register Bothe, etc., fol. 41.) His successor was
- (23) SIR RALPH EDWARD, whose institution is not recorded; but on his resignation
- (24) SIR RICHARD HIGOWE was instituted, 3 June, 1495; Patrons, the same. (*Ibid*, fol. 171.) On his death or resignation—we are not told which—the Benefice was suffered to lapse to the Bishop, who admitted *in commendam*
- (25) SIR VINCENT COLMAN (for six months), 18 Jan., 1502-3, afterwards collating
- (26) MASTER THOMAS WYSE; on whose resignation
- (27) SIR VINCENT COLMAN, chaplain, was instituted, 15 April, 1506. (Register Arundell, fol. 3, and Register Oldham, fol. 7*b*.) On Colman's death
- (28) SIR THOMAS ALWAY, chaplain, was instituted, 3 Feb., 1519-20. (Register Vesey, fol. 2.) He seems to have held the Chantry till the Dissolution, as there is no record of any subsequent institution.

¹ It may be worth mentioning that Hendeman was admitted to his Canonry by Rob. Rigge, the well-known Chancellor, in the absence of the Dean. Reynolds, *Ancient Diocese of Exeter*, p. 47.

The Chantry was a substantial Benefice and well endowed. It was quite distinct from the Vicarage. The Rectory of St. Clether was appropriated to its Wardens, who presented the Vicars of that parish.

Before I comment on these lists, there is one incumbency about which I am not clear ; indeed, I am in much perplexity. It is that of Job Weale. That he was sometime Vicar is distinctly implied in the Diocesan Registers, though these same records contain no mention whatsoever of his institution. Still, they state explicitly that Charles Tremaine was instituted as Vicar of St. Austell on Sept. 26th, 1675, the vacancy being occasioned "*by the death of Job Weale, the last vicar thereof.*" But where does he come in ? When did his incumbency *begin* ? It has been suggested that he was an intruder, and in favour of this view it may be mentioned that he *was* apparently intruded into the Vicarage of St. Minver when William Drake (who had been instituted on May 14th, 1644) was sequestered (Walker, *Sufferings*, p. 229). This piece of information I owe to Preb. Hingston-Randolph, who has pursued Mr. Weale throughout his career with untiring energy. He finds that he was the son of John Weale, who was instituted as Vicar of St. Minver on Sept. 24th, 1624. To Weale *père* succeeded Wm. Drake mentioned above, who was ousted, as we have already remarked, by Weale *fil.* The latter conformed in 1662—he rather reminds one of the Vicar of Bray—and in that year signed the St. Minver Register as "minister." He had been ordained, I should have observed—this I discovered accidentally—by Bishop Gauden on Jan. 13th, 1660-1, along with some twenty others, deacon and priest in one day. But his ordination only secured his position at St. Minver, and at St. Minver he resided, at least for the most part, to the time of his decease. He was baptized there, as

the register shows, on July 17th, 1633. He married Mary Hammett, Nov. 19th, 1661. Their daughter Judith was baptized Jan. 13th, 1662-3, and their son John on May 17th, 1664, both at St. Minver. There he was buried on May 16th, 1675, and there his widow was laid to rest in 1682. It is clear, accordingly, that St. Minver, and not St. Austell, was his home. But it is equally clear that he *could* have been Vicar of St. Austell only for a few weeks before his death. For Joseph Maye, the younger, was instituted by Archbishop Juxon, the See of Exeter being then vacant, on August 17th, 1660, and from that time to the day of his death he acted as Vicar. He it was who kept the Registers down to March 22nd, 1673-4, and no doubt performed the marriages, baptisms, and burials which they record: we find his "Jos Maye, vic. ibm̃," as regularly as clockwork at the foot of each page. And his "buriall" is entered as having taken place on March 30th, 1675, *not seven weeks*, that is to say, before Job Weale's funeral. Preb. Hingeston-Randolph suggests that the latter may have been appointed by the Crown and admitted by the Bishop in the course of this brief period, but to me that appears to be, I will not say quite impossible, but most improbable. I rather incline to suspect an error in the Register, which is the less to be wondered at, inasmuch as on Sept. 21st, 1675, Edward Cornish was instituted Vicar of St. Minver *on the death of Job Weale*, only *five* days before Charles Tremayne was instituted to St. Austell "on the death of Job Weale." I think the second mention of Weale's decease may have been made *per incuriam*—the scribe may have been misled by the former entry. This is why I have retained Weale's name on the list within brackets, but do not count him amongst my predecessors.

Such, then, have been the spiritual pastors and teachers of St. Austell for many a long year. Now let us see what we know, or can infer, about them.

I imagine that the first remark which every casual reader would make is one which a lady of my acquaintance ingenuously did make, namely, what a very gratifying number of our earlier Vicars, etc., were of gentle birth—were, in fact, knights or baronets. It may therefore be well if I explain, for the sake of the uninitiated, that the title “Sir” is only the equivalent of *dominus*, and merely means a member of the University who is not yet a “Master” (*Magister artium*). So that it rather points to inferiority, to one as yet *in statu pupillari*, than to dignity. The old records often tell of *Sir* This or *Sir* That having leave of absence that he might proceed to his Master’s degree. The “Masters” in our lists ranked higher than the “Sirs.”

The next point which requires notice is the word “Chaplain.” It must not be supposed that the “Chaplains” were not “Priests”; they were all in Priests’ Orders; had they not been such they could not have officiated either at the parish altar or at St. Michael’s. “The *capellani*”—I quote Preb. Hingeston-Randolph—“were a body of men found in every diocese, many of them, practically, unattached and always available for special work. For instance, when, as was too frequently the case, an acolyte or a deacon, or even a youth who had only received the First Tonsure, was instituted to a benefice, and then allowed, by license, to go up to Oxford to keep his terms, a Chaplain was sent to the parish as, in fact, Curate-in-charge, the Bishop assigning him a sufficient salary out of the income of the living. A somewhat similar body of clergy, only much fewer in number, is found in some dioceses now.”

I next observe that, leaving out this dubious Weale, our parish has had, since its records of institutions first began, and presuming that the lists are complete, 36 Vicars in 640 years, which gives an average incumbency of $17\frac{3}{4}$ years. I also observe that the post-Reformation Vicars have enjoyed by far the longest tenure of office. This is not to be wondered at when it is remembered that married and family men, having "given hostages to fortune," cannot move about as easily as celibates—hence there are fewer *exchanges*—and also that Anglican Bishops of to-day cannot exactly say to their clergy, as Roman prelates boast that they do, "March!" and they march. Still, the disproportion is more marked than might have been expected. For whilst the first 300 years (1259-1559) exhibit a succession of 20 parish priests, with an average incumbency of 15 years each, the last 300 (1581-1881) have witnessed only 10 Vicars—I exclude myself and my time—who have therefore held office on the average for 30 years each. Whether such long incumbencies are for the good of the parish may perhaps be doubted—one is inclined to speculate whether some of our septuagenarian Vicars may not have "possessed every virtue *except resignation*"—but the fact remains, and I think it is as well to call attention to it.

But what were these men like? what manner of persons were they? what have they accomplished? Alas! of the pre-Reformation Vicars we know absolutely nothing. We have their names, *nominis umbra*, each one of them, but that is all. Some of them, we can see, were Cornishmen; others, as certainly, were not. We cannot say positively which of them witnessed the building of the Nave or the Tower; nor do the frequent changes teach us anything as to their attitude towards the Reformation. It certainly looks as if

HAMUND HANSERT

could not accept the Elizabethan settlement ; he was appointed in Mary's reign, and a few years later (in 1563) his benefice is described as "*certo modo vacantem*." Four of our Vicars were appointed by Queen Elizabeth, and the last of these,

RALPH MAYE,

is the first of whom we know anything definite. We have his signature in our registers ; he was Vicar when the parchment book was bought and the entries on paper were copied into it, and his name, "R. may, vicar," as already mentioned, appears at the foot of the first page. Apparently he, or some member of his family, was not altogether satisfied with the copying (though it is infinitely superior to the later entries made during his incumbency), as the names of six of his children—Joseph, afterwards Vicar (born in April, 1585), Peter (March, '86-7), Grace (July 9th, '92), Robert (Oct., '95), Alice (June 1st, 1600), and Margaret (June, 1603), as well as that of Elizabeth, daughter of John Tonking (Aug., 1589), who subsequently married Joseph May—have been roughly renewed in darker ink ; possibly that very ink for which the old man, as we shall see in the next chapter, had a receipt. And that same chapter will also enable us to form some idea of his character—I may say here that the impression the "Tythes Book" gives me is that of a shrewd, keen, resolute, but just and kindly man, perhaps, if anything, more concerned about the fleece than the flock.¹

¹ This allegation rests on documentary evidence. For whilst the "Tythes Book" shows him to have kept an exact and minute account of all tithes, mortuaries, oblations, etc., due to him, it also shows him to have been careless or unbusinesslike as to the registration of his ministerial acts. Here is a case in point. Among the sums due and received, at the beginning of the book, we find this note—"Thomas Lamy et Jone Pooley weare married the vjth of November, 1600." This wedding was never entered in the Marriage Register. Again, later on, we find a list of "St. Austell Christenings 1620." This certainly was embodied in the Baptismal Register, but with considerable variations. But no one can possibly praise Parson Maye for his care of the Registers, and that is all we have whereby to judge of his discharge of his duties.

But the reader will hear of its contents, and can then form his own opinion. I think it likely that he was a St. Austell man—Mayes were plentiful at that period—and it is said that some of his descendants abide amongst us unto this day. One of his progeny, a Ralph Maye like himself, was no great credit to the name, as we have already gathered from the Bodmin Records.¹ However, he judged our Israel for 37 years, and was then laid to rest in our Church or Churchyard, but no man knoweth of his sepulchre: possibly his dust has been carted through our streets—"Imperial Cæsar, dead and turned to clay," experienced no better fate. It has been stated by Hitchins and Drew that a stone commemorating the Maye family (of which they speak as "extinct") once existed in our Church—a "large thick slate, in which much labour of the chisel appears." They go on to say that "of late years it has been laid in the floor," with its devices and inscriptions exposed to the scraping feet of those who walked our aisles—*sic transit gloria mundi!* Anyhow, it has now disappeared, and no wonder. Of

JOSEPH MAYE,

who stepped into his father's shoes in 1621—two years before the old Vicar's death (our second Register Book mistakenly dates his Vicariate from 1614)—we know comparatively little, but everything that we know is in his favour. The testimony of Walker has already been cited,² and though we can allege nothing to prove it, it agrees with what we know of the man. That he was Vicar of St. Neot is not only proven by the Registers, but may be inferred from our own records, for after attesting his marriage—to a townswoman, Elizabeth Tonking, on January 17th, 1607-8—and the births of three children—Radulphus, Nicholas, and

¹ See page 209 above.

² Page 217 above.

Petrus—we find (on March 2nd, 1616-7) an addition in the handwriting of Joseph Maye, the younger: "Joseph, son of Joseph Maye, was baptised at St. Neott's, March," etc. And we have an incidental testimony to his position and the esteem in which he was held in the petition of Robert Handcock and others, tanners, addressed to Secretary Windębank, about 1635. They state that they are forced to flee the country by reason of their debts, and they pray Mr. Secretary that Lord Robartes, Thomas Hearle, J.P., and Mr. May, "minister of St. Austell," be directed to call the creditors together, so that a reasonable time may be assigned them for the payment of their debts.¹ But it is on his sermon *Epaphras*, a discourse which I have not had the advantage of perusing, that his reputation mainly rests. It was preached at St. Austell, "in commemoration of a benefactor," on Feb. 2nd, 1639.² The preacher is described as "Master of Arts and Pastour of that parish." It was not published until 1641—then copies were "printed by T. H. for Humphry Robinson and are to be sold at the sign of the Three Pigeons in Paul's Churchyard." It was "Dedicated to his worthy friend and friendly benefactor, Mr. Richard Delamine, Servant to his Majesty in the practice of the mathematickes." It is also addressed "To his beloved parishioners of St. Austell"—two pages of Dedications and twenty-eight pages of Sermon.³ He died at the age of 72, on Oct. 6th, 1657. He was not buried in St. Austell,⁴ which looks as if he were not

¹ *State Papers—Domestic*, Charles I., 1635-6. They petitioned again to the same effect on Nov. 29th, 1639, and this time with success.

² In 1670, when our *Account Booke* begins, we find the parish possessed of a sum of £100. I suggest that this was very likely the benefaction which evoked Mr. Maye's encomiums.

³ *Bibliotheca Cornubiensis*. I hope he found it a more profitable speculation than most divines who have yielded to the importunity of "beloved parishioners" and have published sermons have done.

⁴ The register says he "died Oct. 6," etc. In all other cases the words are "was buried."

resident there; as if, in fact, he were extruded from his benefice at the time of his death. Now we come to

WILLIAM UPCOTT,

who superseded Maye, whilst the Presbyterians and Independents were in power. Of him we know too much. We have a strange account of him in the pages of Besse's *Abstract of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers*.¹ It would seem that his daughter Anne turned Quakeress—but I will give the story in Besse's own words. After observing that she was the "daughter of the parish priest," who became convinced of the truth, separated herself from their way of worship and testified against their vain conversation, he proceeds: "Her father and three brothers were exceedingly embittered against her and laid hold of any occasion to persecute her, a peculiar instance of which is as follows—In the month called October 1658, on a First Day of the week, as she was putting on her clothes she found her waiste-coat torne and was mending it before she put it on, when one of her sisters came into the room, who, acquainting her brother the constable of it, he goes to a neighbouring justice and gets his warrant to bring her before him, who ordered that she should pay a fine of 5 shillings for Sabbath-breaking and authorized her said brother either to levy the same upon her goods or to set her in the stocks. The spiteful brother took the rougher course, and in a time of much rain put her into the stocks, himself with his Father and Brothers placing themselves in a window hard by and from thence jeering and flouting at her, and encouraging the Boys and other Rabble to abuse her, insomuch that some of the sober neighbours wept to see their unnatural usage of her." A sad story, if true, and I fear there is no doubt of its substantial truth. It does not look as if Cromwell's "Committee

¹ Vol. i. (from 1650-1660), pp. 40, 41.

of Triers" had mended matters in their quest for orthodoxy and their hatred of prelacy and the Prayer Book. Our Registers tell of the burial of this Spartan father, who was also Vicar of St. Clement's, near Truro—he is merely designated as "Clerk"—on June 13th, 1665; no doubt his occupation as Vicar was gone from the day of the younger Maye's institution. His strong-minded daughter, as we learn from other sources, further showed her independence by setting up a small linen draper's shop in the town. She subsequently married one Thomas Salthouse, who died in 1696, and was buried at the Tregongeeves Friends' Cemetery. We hear also of the family of Upcott from another quarter, even Hals' History. Speaking of St. Austell, he says, "In this parish was born Jonathan Upcott, son of George Upcott, gent. (by Mrs. May of High Cross Street) . . . son of William Upcott, clerk, sometime Vicar of this parish and St. Clements, by Anne, daughter of Sir Nicholas Hals." From which we gather, first, that the Vicar was connected by marriage with the historian—was, in fact, his cousin; and secondly, that, though the Mayes and Upcotts may have been as hostile as the Montagus and Capulets, yet Cupid arranged a marriage between their young people. Jonathan Upcott, the fruit of this marriage, distinguished himself in Flanders by his bravery, and lost his life in a daring attempt to storm the enemy's camp at Enghien. Now we come to

JOSEPH MAYE, THE YOUNGER,

who was born, as we have seen, at St. Neot in 1616-17, and married Elizabeth Rowcliffe, as he himself has recorded in our Register, in 1643-4. He was Vicar of Winkleigh, in Devon, from Dec. 22nd, 1643, till his cession in, or about, January, 1660-1, his successor, Richard Baily, having been

instituted on the 14th of that month ; but his first child, born in '45, was " borne att Exon " ; it is just possible that the father was then serving a cure in that city. But the next six saw the light in the home at Winkleigh, only Katherine being born at St. Austell, February 25th, 1661-2. When she was barely sixteen months old, the mother was taken from this " large little family " by death—her burial took place in June, 1663 : she did not long enjoy their preferment to St. Austell, which preferment had no doubt been bestowed on her husband in recognition of what his father had suffered at the hands of the Commonwealth. The care of this brood of children accounts, I daresay, for Mr. Maye's somewhat hasty marriage to Mrs. Bourne, who presently added three more to the number, apart from the five little Bournes who, it may be presumed, accompanied her to her new home. On March 30th, 1675, at the age of 58, Mr. Maye was gathered to his fathers ; apparently, he *did* find a resting place amongst us. And this is literally all that we know of him ; let us hope that the gaps in our knowledge consist of

" That best portion of a good man's life—
His little, nameless, unremembered acts
Of kindness and of love."

He was succeeded by

CHARLES TREMAYNE,

the second son of Col. Lewis Tremayne, by Mary Carew, his wife. Born in 1650, he was entered at Cambridge in 1668, and there he remained until he took his Master's degree in '75, the year of his appointment to St. Austell. He was also Rector of Lansallos. He married (in 1685) Elizabeth, the youngest daughter of John Jago, of Truthan, St. Erme. Our register tells of the baptism of " Lewis, son of Charles

Tremayne, clerk, on Nov. 22, 1687"; of John, on Feb. 7th, 1688-9—in this entry the Vicar, we may observe in passing, spelt his name as Tremaine: so he did in registering the baptism of his son Charles on "Aprill 1, 1690"; when William was baptized, on July 18th, '92, he has got down to "Tremain," and so he persists in writing it when recording William's burial on Sept. 14th of the same year; elsewhere he generally writes Tremayne. He died at the age of 45, and on Dec. 2nd, '95, he was laid to rest beneath the altar of our Church.¹ He is somewhat prominent in our registers in connexion with burials in woollen, which were enforced by Act of Parliament in '78, three years after his appointment as Vicar. The Exeter registers tell of his giving a Title on Sept. 14th, 1686, to Mr. William Polkinghorne, B.A., who was to officiate at St. Blazey. "I shall allow him thirty pound *per ann.*, until such times as hee shall bee better provided for."² This is no reflection on Mr. Tremayne's generosity, as £30 then was as much as £150 now; the living of St. Austell was valued at £80 only in 1645, and as late as 1722 a labourer's wages were only 1s. per day. And in 1641 His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury only gave a salary of £20 *per annum* to the Curate who served the Parish Church of Folkestone.³ Now we come to

STEPHEN HEWGOE,

or Hugoe,⁴ who married Mr. Tremayne's widow on Dec. 7th,

¹ So I am informed by the present head of the family, Mr. Tremayne of Heligan, to whom I am also indebted for several of the particulars given above. I should like to remark, however, that there is no mention of this funeral in the *Account Booke*, but that may be because no fee was paid—the parishioners had no control over the chancel. It is recorded, of course, in the Register. ² Reynolds, p. 342.

³ Woodward, p. 45. Macaulay, speaking of 1685, says, "A young Levite might be had for his board, a small garret, and ten pounds a year." Mr. Hugoe in 1600 gave his Curate, Sir Martyn Parnall, £8 *per annum*.

⁴ In the earlier signatures at the foot of each page the Vicar signed his name as "Hewgoe." In thirteen instances this has been subsequently altered to "Hugoe." After 1705 it is always "Hugoe."

1696, just a twelvemonth after her first husband's death.¹ He is chiefly remarkable for his long tenure of office—he was Vicar for more than sixty years, though that *his* “diamond jubilee” was observed with any great rejoicings it would be rash to affirm. Wesley, who always went to the Parish Church, and took his followers with him, heard Mr. Hugo officiate on Sunday, Sept. 25th, 1757, a few months before his death, and was much impressed, if not with the discourse, with the vigour and vitality of the aged Vicar. “The whole Church Service,” he says, “was performed by a clergyman above 90 years of age. His name is Stephen Hugo. He has been Vicar of St. Austell between sixty and seventy years.” Then he characteristically adds, “O, what might a man full of faith and zeal have done for GOD in such a course of time!” I am afraid we must confess that “zeal” is not exactly the word we should associate with Parson Hugoe’s name. I venture on this observation because of the attenuated amounts which his congregations—they must have been minute—contributed to charities.² On one occasion, however, he had a gratifying announcement to make. It was on Aug. 4th, 1745; the Account Book informs us that on that day “Mr. Hugo acquainted the persons present [the Vestry] that on the 29th of June last” he had found a sum of £21 within the pages of his Prayer Book, with a letter directing that half-a-guinea should be given to the Vicar, 9s. 6d. expended for bread and wine for the Holy Communion, and the balance “be

¹ Mrs. Hugoe died in 1725, and was interred (on Aug. 1st) by the side of her first husband. She bequeathed 50s. to the poor of St. Austell and 30s. to the poor of St. Blazey. Mr. Hugoe apparently married again—the “Tythes Book” was given to Mr. Harte in 1758 by a *Mrs.* Hugoe—but who the lady of his choice was, or when they were wedded, I have not been able to ascertain. The first Mrs. Hugoe bore her husband one son, William, who was baptized July 10th, 1699.

² See p. 202 above.

paid into the hands of the twelve men who shall be Churchwardens and Overseers of the Poor," to form an endowment to meet a similar expenditure year by year. During his incumbency, I ought also to say, dead as were those days, the bells were recast (in 1747), and the gallery was erected (in '52). In 1757, the year before Mr. Hugo's death, Mr. J. Carlyon acquainted the Vestry that he had received from the Rev. Mr. Trewbody twenty guineas, to be paid to the Churchwardens—see how one good deed provokes another—and to be put out at interest; half-a-guinea to be paid to the Vicar for preaching a sermon on the Holy Communion on the Sunday after Midsummer Day, and a like sum to be set apart for purchasing the bread and wine for the Sacrament then to be administered. I regret to say that both these charities have long since been confiscated—it is not always that faith is kept with the dead, and the tendency is always to secularize the things of GOD—for on August 16th, 1829, during Mr. Smyth's incumbency, it was resolved "that the Church be lighted with gas . . . and that the sum of £41 : 8 : 6 found in the Church some years since, and denominated by the persons who left it 'A Benefaction for the Church,' be appropriated to the purpose," which, accordingly, was done.¹ On Jan. 7th, 1758, Mr. Hugo, who had laid some thousands of his parishioners under the sod, was himself gathered to his fathers,² and was succeeded by

WALTER HARTE,

the only Vicar of St. Austell who has had a reputation

¹ This resolution was approved, as the signatures show, by Wm. Pattison (then the occupant of Duporth), Thos. S. Smyth, Vicar, Edw. Coode, Junr., Thos. Coode, and Ph. Wheeler.

² In the Loughborough Registers, under August 16, 1561, we read—"So Edward Arnolde, the prieste, when he had buried all thos before written was buried himselfe."

outside the county, for he was a man of letters, a friend of Pope, and tutor to the hopeful son of Lord Chesterfield, the same to whom the famous *Letters* were addressed. Harte was born in 1709, a son of Walter Harte, Canon of Bristol and Prebendary of Wells, and a nonjuror, and was educated at St. Mary Hall, Oxford: he took his B.A. in 1728. His first book, entitled *Poems on Several Occasions*, highly eulogized Pope (who had subscribed for four copies), and so led to a friendship between them. Pope commended the book to Caryl, modestly adding, "It praises me too much"—indeed, Elwin observes that "the praise amounts to adulation." This was followed in 1735 by an *Essay on Reason*, a close but tame imitation of the "Essay on Man." A sermon preached in '37 before the University on *The Harmony of Reason, Moral and Revealed Religion*, attracted much attention, and passed through five editions. About this time he became Vicar of Gosfield in Essex; we also learn from one of Pope's letters that Harte had "condescended to stand for the Poetry Professorship at Oxford"; if he did stand, he was not elected, this gracious act of condescension notwithstanding. He was now made Vice-Principal of St. Mary Hall—no one, by the way, could say of him what was said of one of his successors in that post, "I'm afraid there's more of *Vice* in you than *Principle*"—and attained some reputation as a tutor. In '45 he was appointed travelling tutor to Mr. Stanhope, Lord Chesterfield's natural son, but Mr. John Morley writes that he was not successful in that capacity. "His partiality to Greek and Latin, German law and Gothic erudition, rendered him rather remiss in other points." He adds that Harte, "long accustomed to College life, was too awkward both in his person and address to be able to familiarize the Graces with his young pupil,"

and Lord Chesterfield wrote to the same effect. After four years' travel he returned to England and was appointed Canon of Windsor in 1750 and in '58, probably through the influence of the Eliot family, became Vicar of SS. Austell and Blazey. The next year appeared his *magnum opus*, the *Life of Gustavus Adolphus*, which had occupied his leisure moments for many years. Chesterfield pronounced its style to be execrable—"Where the d——l he picked it up I can't conceive; it is full of Latinisms, Gallicisms, Germanisms, and all other *isms* but Anglicisms; in some places pompous, in others vulgar and low." Carlyle brands it as a "wilderness." It was, however, translated, perhaps because of its "Germanisms," into German the next year. He must have had a good deal in him, for Dr. Johnson commended him as "a man of the most companionable talents he had ever known," and maintained that his defects of style "proceeded not from imbecility, but foppery." In 1764 he published his *Essays on Husbandry*, the style of which Chesterfield was pleased to praise, and which Johnson thought a good book. During his last long illness he went back to poetry, his first love, and produced *The Amaranth*, a volume of religious poems. He died in '74. It is very doubtful whether he ever resided here for any length of time. Perhaps that is one reason why our history during his reign is so very uneventful: I find nothing in the parish books more exciting than an attempt on the part of the Rev. Mr. Saml. Gurney, the Dean Rural, "under colour of his office," to exact a fee of "half-a-crown, for visiting the Church of this parish"! This gross imposition was brought before the Vestry by Mr. Saml. Hendy, and it brought up the "principal inhabitants"; it was forthwith resolved "that means be made use of for recovering it," and Mr. Jones, probably the honest attorney

commemorated in a tablet over the Priests' door,¹ was instructed to "commence such prosecution against the said Mr. Gurney as he shall think fit." How many pounds they wasted and Mr. Jones pocketed over this precious prosecution does not appear, but it has struck me as a fine illustration of the good old obstinate Cornish fighting spirit—not yet wholly extinct—

"Then thirty thousand Cornishmen
Will know the reason why."

We are now arrived at A.D. 1775, and before we proceed farther, I should like to remark that our seventeenth and eighteenth century Vicars—so far as we have knowledge of them—do not seem to me to agree with Lord Macaulay's estimate, so often accepted without question, of the country clergy of 1685. I can well believe that Sir Martyn Parnall, the Curate who served St. Blazey in 1601, and who, as we shall see hereafter, received his stipend in instalments of 10s. and 6s. 8d., was of a humble social position, but I cannot persuade myself that any of the Mayes or Mr. Hugo, and certainly not Mr. Tremayne or Mr. Harte, were the sort of men to hang about a patron's back stairs, or to till his fields, or curry his coach horses, or marry his discarded mistress or his wife's waiting maid, or hire out their children as domestic servants.² The Vicars of St. Austell from 1570 to 1770 would

¹ Page 149.

² The historian who says that "a waiting woman was generally considered as the most suitable helpmeet for a parson" appears to have been unaware of the fact that persons of quality at this period thought it no disgrace to engage themselves as attendants on their more opulent relations. "Before the civil wars," writes Mr. Waters, "the upper servants in great households were almost invariably persons of gentle birth"—and the custom cannot have changed all at once. Dame Mary Cordell, widow of Sir W. Cordell, Master of the Rolls, left a black gown, etc., "to my *niece* Hubbard, my *waiting woman*"—this was in 1584. And in 1710, Mary, widow of Sir A. Chester, bequeathed her diamond earrings "to my *Cousin* Elizabeth Richers, my *waiting woman*." We have, I apprehend, a much truer, though still exaggerated, portraiture of our Vicars of that age in the lines—

never, I feel sure, have recognized themselves nor (I incline to think) any of their contemporaries in this highly imaginative picture of the country parson. This said, to vindicate the respectability of my predecessors, let us proceed to speak of Mr.

RICHARD HENNAH,

who succeeded Mr. Harte in 1775. Now it is somewhat curious that though his incumbency is so recent, comparatively; though it lasted forty years,¹ and though some of his descendants or connections still survive amongst us, I can discover little or nothing about him to impart to the gentle reader. I hear that he was of a Tregony family; that he was also Rector of a parish near Tregony, St. Michael, Penkevil, and so became private chaplain to Lord Falmouth, and that he married a lady of this neighbourhood, Mary Carthew; I am also told—and this we can readily believe; no one has ever accused the clergy of that age of asceticism—that on Sundays when his duties took him to St. Blazey, he would often turn in to dine with General Carlyon at Tregrehan. I should judge from his handwriting that he was a man of some considerable capacity and force of character, but beyond this I cannot go.²

"A jolly parson of the good old stock,
By birth a gentleman, yet homely too,
Suiting his phrase to Hodge and Margery,
Whom once he christened, and has married since.
A little lax in doctrine and in life,
Not thinking GOD was captious in such things
As what a man might drink on holidays;
But holding true religion was to do
As you'd be done by; which could never mean
That he should *preach three sermons in a week.*"

¹ The tablet to his memory states that he was minister of this parish *for over half a century*—a strange blunder, as he was instituted in 1775 and died in 1815.

² The Rev. T. J. Bennett, Vicar of St. Wenn, formerly Curate in St. Austell, informs me that Mr. Henna and his congregation would often repair, after the Church service, to the old Wrestling Green, to witness this peculiarly Cornish sport. The prize was

His son Edmund¹ was established in the town as a printer—the specimens of his art which have come down to us are not particularly striking; perhaps no printing of that period is. Mr. Hennah, who was laid to rest in St. Austell Churchyard, was succeeded in 1815—some three weeks before the Battle of Waterloo—by the Rev.

THOMAS SCOTT SMYTH,

who was a Fellow of Oriel, and became a Prebendary of Exeter, so that he must have been a man of some parts; his brother William was Professor of Modern History at Cambridge; the poetry which adorns the monument in our Church to the first Mrs. Smyth (one of the Ryles of Macclesfield) is from his facile pen. For his second wife this Vicar married Theophila Metcalfe, whose brother, known as Lord Metcalfe, was sometime Governor-General of Canada. Mr. Smyth is still remembered in St. Austell, though those who knew him are now comparatively few; it is nearly sixty years since his voice was heard in our Church or his form seen in our streets. But *how* is he remembered? Not by his learned and scholarly discourses; of these, so far as I know, no vestige remains in any living memory²—let us hope that they served a useful purpose all the same; he is chiefly remembered by a trick

usually a hat, and the Vicar acted as umpire. Further, he traces to Mr. Hennah's abode the original form of a well-worn story. Two solid Mevagissey fisher-women, each almost as broad as she was long, often called with their baskets at the Vicarage. Miss Hennah, the Vicar's sister and housekeeper, having a frugal mind, would bargain long about the price, but sealed the contract, when it was made, with a miniature glass of gin, which the old goodies much appreciated, whilst they as much regretted that there was no more of it, and they determined to convey this impression to the lady as delicately as possible. So when the glass was next produced, one of them dropped it, as if by accident, and it was broken to pieces. "What have you done?" cried the lady; "that glass was much prized by my brother; it was so very old"—they had heard of its age before. "Law, now, m'am," said Betty, "who would a thought it; a was so very small for his age."

¹ See p. 121.

² The late Mr. T. Coode copied part of a Funeral sermon; this remains.

he had of rolling his ample tongue and licking his lips when he spoke, which led to the remark that "a must have had traycle for breakfast." It is also reported that he wore black gloves in the pulpit, which gloves were considerably longer than his fingers could fill. The void space was not altogether wasted, however, for when he wept, which he often did (I honour him for it), he used the extremities to mop his eyes with. I am sure that his were no crocodile tears; it was not in the margin of *his* MSS. that the direction "Cry here!" was found. Mr. Jonathan Rashleigh, who as a boy knew him well, and whose family esteemed him greatly, recalls the following story concerning him. It was his custom to ride a stout pony, to which, when he was on an unfrequented road, he would give the rein, whilst he, John Wesley-like, occupied himself with one or other of his favourite classic authors, the said pony being left to follow its own sweet will. On one occasion it had sought "fresh fields and pastures new," and when Mr. Smyth woke up it was in an unfamiliar country that he found himself. Wanting to know where the lane led to, he asked a country Johnny, whom he presently met, "Where am I going to, my lad?" The rustic looked up in utter astonishment, and replied, "How should us knaw where yew be gaun to?" on which Mr. Smyth presented him with a sixpence for his discrimination. I also hear that it was a favourite pastime with him to gallop this pony, the same which bore him each Sunday afternoon to St. Blazey, round his *neighbours'* fields. He died in 1854, at the age of 77, but in 1838 he had effected an exchange with Mr.

FORTESCUE TODD,

at that time Incumbent of a Chapel in Marylebone.¹ As a

¹ The Rev. C. R. Sowell, Vicar of St. Goran, writes, in reply to my inquiries—"His father Capt. Lovell Todd, was in the Falmouth Packet Service. . . . His residence was

young man, Mr. Todd had the reputation of being one of the best shots in the county. As a divine, he was chiefly remarkable for his elocution, which art he had studied under Macready. The sonorous and stately way in which he read the "Bewrial Service"—as they call it here—was much admired; even now people will refer to it, and they tell of a commercial gentleman who said it was a treat worth going ten miles to enjoy. He did not rely on "that blessed word Mesopotamia," but the way in which he rolled out, *ore profundo*, "Bethabára" and "pomegranátes," has often been described to me. I have also heard that when he came to that verse in the Psalms, "*Lice* in all their quarters," he would substitute for that indelicate expression the word "insects." He was a man of striking presence—so much so that in his broad-brimmed shovel hat which he wore to cover a seton in the neck, he was more than once mistaken for a Bishop. A meek curate, who did obeisance to him under this impression, was satisfied that he had made no mistake when Mr. Todd waved his hat in return, thereby revealing the letters F. T. in the crown, which incontinently proclaimed him to be Frederick Temple. He is said to have been an excellent *raconteur*. In his later years he became very deaf, but I have heard people complain that he could hear well enough when they particularly desired him not to hear. He repeatedly failed, as I have been informed, to effect an insurance upon his life, but that did not prevent his living to the mellow age of 88. His sepulchre may be seen in the High Cross Burial Ground.

at Trenarth, near Falmouth. On one occasion an invalid Duchess of Bedford was entrusted to this gentleman's care on a voyage to Lisbon. She so much appreciated his attentions that she laid a last injunction on the Duke to 'remember Todd.' This was carried out by a clerical appointment, which Mr. Todd eventually exchanged with Mr. Smyth."

CHAPTER XIII.

OUR TITHES BOOK.

IN our parish chest, as I remarked soon after I became Vicar, is a manuscript volume—"volume" is perhaps a too flattering title, for it is manifestly of home manufacture, and is rough and rude to a degree—a book which, from its fine coffee colour, its dilapidated condition, and its antiquated writing, I readily perceived to be a relic of the dim and distant past, but which, I regret to say, I never found the time or the courage to examine. It bears this inscription on the back, in Mr. Hennah's handwriting—

"N.B. The most ancient Book.

*This Book of Tythes was given by Mrs. Hugoe to Mr. Harte upon his coming to the living of St. Austell in 1757,"*¹

but a glance at the writing within, which recalls the tables of sines and tangents or the accounts of Eastern merchants, is enough to dismay anyone but a born antiquarian, and so I left it, year after year, unexplored. One day, however, an enterprising friend, Mr. W. Melvill Coode, set himself to examine these hieroglyphics, and with such promising results that I was induced to send the MS. to an expert, to Preb. Hingeston-Randolph, to whom this volume is already

¹ It really consists of two private account books—one 12 X 4½ in., the other 15 X 6 in. The former consists of some 128 pages of coarse paper; the latter, of similar paper, has a cover of parchment. The two have been sewn together at the back. The parchment is part of an indenture of the 43rd year of Queen Elizabeth.

so much indebted. He told me that he had never seen an antient Tithes Book, and as he has an almost unique acquaintance with old ecclesiastical documents, I think it very likely that others have not either, and that we possess in this dirty, dog-eared record a literary treasure.¹ However, he was able, with his wide experience, to make out nearly all the scribbling—it is little else—which had defied Mr. Coode's examination, and the result is that, without any trouble on my part,² I have been put into possession of the contents of the book—between the two they have almost made a fair copy of it—and am able to impart them to such of my readers as may care to see how a country Vicar kept his accounts, and what were the sources of his income, three centuries ago. I incline to think that those who will join me in turning over its pages will find them by no means lacking in interest.³

I begin by observing that in spite of the heading of the first page,

“*St. Austell Vicaridge*

Receipts in ye yeares of our Lord god, 1599, 1600, 1601. R. May, Vic.,”

the accounts really extend from 1598 to 1606.⁴ They profess to be in Latin—the bulk of them *are* in that language—but we constantly find a curious mixture of Latin and English. Here are one or two instances—

“Nicholas Pears

A° 1600 . . . *piscas* 4d.

„ 1601 for *fishe* vijs. viijd.

¹ Such account books, being the property of the Vicar who compiled them, would hardly be likely to descend to his successors, nor would they, having served their purpose, be treasured up by his executors. It can hardly surprise us, therefore, if most of them have perished. It is a wonder to me that this disreputable-looking book of ours has been preserved.

² I must say, in justice to my reputation, that I have since learned to read it for myself.

³ In one place Mr. Maye speaks of another book—*ut patet in alio libro*. This may account for the non-appearance of some familiar names in this record.

⁴ Some entries are as late as 1620.

Luke Pears *computavit cum patre*. Compounded with him for hys tith, etc., of their boote in Anno 1601 to be due for vjs. Witnesses Mr. Kendall, Mr. Woulridge and others. Rec. xijs. in discharge thereof.

A° 1602 *computavit cum patre in compoto precedente*.

Composui cum eodem Luca pro X^{mis} [decimis] piscium cymbe sue," etc.

Again—

"John Honye, A^{no} 1602 at Ester rec. vjs. and he oweth other vjs. rec. at Michmās 1602 other 7s. and for the yeare 1603 1s. rec^d 14s. rec^d. in festo Paschae 1605 14s., et pro Anno 1606 debet xiijs, et xxd.; pro mortuario, xs.; pro funerale et oblaciones ijd.," etc.

Sometimes there is a confusion of tongues, even in the same sentence, *e.g.*—

"Robert Tynner, servant, for half £3 . 6 . 8 anno 1603 et pro Anno 1604—*priv. acq.* for Anno 2s. rec."

Some pages are entirely in Latin, others as entirely English.

Now for the plan of the book. Its idea is to give a list of the tithe-payers, according to their holdings or places of abode. He begins with "Carvarth: *inhabitantes*"¹; then proceeds to Rosweeke, Treganhisuth, Bojeth, Trethowell, Trembere, Trenance, Buscavellack, etc., etc. I cannot trace any strict order in his arrangement; what does exist is roughly geographical; the places on the coast, *e.g.*, and elsewhere, are given consecutively. When dealing with a locality, he seems to exhaust the tithe-payers therein.

From the number of names that are entered, as well as from the word *inhabitantes* above, I should imagine that he gives us most of the St. Austell householders of that period, except perhaps in the "Church towne." (Judging from the number of baptisms—about 28 *per annum*—I should conclude that the

¹ This looks as if he had designed a list of parishioners or householders.

parish then contained about 900 souls.) One half of them appear to have paid nothing ; some, like “ Margery brooke *vid.* and Mary Rouse *vid.*,” were probably excused ; in other cases, it was conceivably found difficult to collect the poor man’s penny. Or names of non-tithe-payers may have been entered with the idea of their possibly becoming chargeable for mortuaries or funeral fees.

The next thing to remark is the items. It must be remembered that Parson Maye had only to do with the *small tithes*.¹ Hence we find no mention of the cereals. A *Vicar*’s income then arose—apart from land or endowments—from *mixed* and *personal*, with some few *predial* tithes, *i.e.*, tithes on crops. Since the Commutation, we are so accustomed to a Tithe Rent-Charge that it is a surprise to many of us to hear that our forefathers paid tithes on foals, on fowls, on fish, on their private earnings, and even on their servants’ wages, and I feel sure that many St. Austell people will read with amazement, and perhaps with a feeling of deep relief, of the burdens borne by their ancestors. It is well that they should know what these were. Mr. Maye, as we shall see presently, levied tithes on all kinds of

1. CATTLE—cows, calves, colts, ewes, lambs, goats, and the like. For this, it is needless to say, there is Scripture precedent. It was not only, however, that the tenth calf or tenth lamb fell to his share, but he received payment *pro rata* for any less number ; as soon as an animal was weanable it became tithable. Hence, whilst we read in one place, *Ed. Clemens debet agnum*, and elsewhere that Agnes Scollier paid 22d. *pro agno vendito*, and Wm. Hickes 2s. *pro agno decimali*, we also find 4d. or 8d. or other small sum charged under the

¹ Tithes are not called “great” or “small” because of the *amounts*, but according to their subject-matter. At St. Austell, for example, the small tithes amount to more than the great.

head of *vaccae* or *vituli* or *capillae*. He was also entitled to a fleece or a share of the wool of sheep. *Vellus lanae* appears more than once in the accounts. Moreover, he gives us, at the very end of the book, a list of the sheep that were in Trewydle on June 13th, 1604—"of old wethers 23; young wethers 81; old yewes 28; Rammes 3; yew hoggets 43," and so forth, but whether this list points to wool or to pasture I could not be positive. In some places the parson had tithes of the *milk*—every tenth quart was delivered at the Parsonage or the Church porch—but seemingly Mr. Maye did not enjoy this rare good fortune. Again, if animals were removed out of the parish, they still paid tithe to the parish whence they were depastured—this explains the frequent mention of *vacce delocate* or *boves delocati* in the lists. Indeed, it was so thoroughly understood that the parson had his share in the flock as well as in the field that it was a custom in some parishes for him to maintain "a common Bull and a Boar . . . for the increase of calves and pigs."¹ Tithe was also paid for *barren* stock, such as horses and steers; we read of *pastura animalium infrugiferorum* ("barrenners") at Molinnis. Of the charges for *Agistment* I shall speak later on. Tithes were also payable on

2. POULTRY. There is frequent mention of *pulli*—sometimes it is *pullus*, as if there were but one, and as a penny only is charged, this may have been the case²; sometimes we read of geese—the word is always *anser* (in the singular), but as the invariable charge is 8d., more, I should suppose, than the value of a goose in those days, and as no one would care to

¹ *The Clergy-Man's Law*, p. 1007. "The Court were of opinion that this was a reasonable custom, and that every Inhabitant prejudiced by [his] not keeping the Bull and Boar might maintain his Action."

² It should be remembered that colts were called *pulli equini*; at Treverbyn, Wm. George paid 2d. for a *pullus equinus*.

keep *one* goose, I think we are right in understanding “geese.” He also had a trifle (the charge is usually 1d. or 2d.) for hens’ eggs, but Preb. Hingeston-Randolph remarks that there was not much poultry kept in the parish.¹ Again,

3. BEES OR THEIR HONEY contributed a few pence to his exchequer. More than once we hear of *mel*, the tithe on which was 2d. Now we come to

4. THE CROPS. The custom in this parish was to reckon grass and hay amongst the small tithes, hence *herba* and *fenum* meet us at every turn, but the charges in each case seldom exceed 2d.; Hy. Cowch, however, paid 12d. for hay at Boscoppa. But here is a curious circumstance. Three parishioners of St. Blazey were charged viiid. apiece, for that they “bought hay in Anno 1600”; I suppose that they paid on their profits. Rye also is mentioned, but only once (this was at “Knightier”), so that very little rye bread was eaten, whereas hemp and flax² were cultivated in many places; we must remember that these were the days of the spinning-wheel, when every diligent housewife laid her hand to the distaff and made her own house-linen. We observe also some charges on account of peas and beans—not those grown in gardens; Mr. Maye did not exactly descend to tithe the mint and anise and cummin of his people. About the tithes of

5. FISH more will be said presently. Here it must suffice to remark that such charges were almost peculiar to this county of Cornwall; I believe, however, that tithe was paid on herrings taken at Yarmouth, and that fish tithes were usual in Ireland. They have been exacted within living memory at Mevagissey. They were regarded as a branch of

¹ Turkeys, as being *feræ naturæ*, were not tithable.

² The tithes of these crops were subsequently regulated by the Statute 3 and 4 W. and M., c. 3: a sum not exceeding 4s. per acre—raised a few years later to 5s.—was to be paid.

6. PERSONAL TITHES, *i.e.*, "the tenth part of the clear profits of labour and industry."¹ Such tithes having been paid here before the Reformation, they were secured to our Vicars by 2 and 3 Edw. VI., c. 15, which enacted "That every person exercising Merchandises, Bargaining and Selling, Clothing, Handicraft or other Art or Faculty," should "pay for his Personal Tythes the Tenth Part of his clear Gains."² This is how Parson Maye came to have a tithe of the fish taken on our coast. This, too, is why *mills* are mentioned; John Hodge paid 3s. 4d. annually for his at Boscoppa (apart from his private earnings); Thos. Rosevere made a composition for his at Treverbyn; that at Spit paid 2s. Mr. Sawle had Austell Mill. "Privy ff"—sometimes "privy fford"—also points to profits. John Morishe, a tynner, paid for his "privy ff" xiid. This, too, accounts for a charge which figures in almost every account, *viz.*, *privata acquisita*, private earnings: only day labourers were exempt from this payment. The charge varies, but I should say the usual sum paid was 12d. One man at Boscoppa paid that amount *pro se et genero suo*—for self and son-in-law, annually, whilst Wm. Renold at "Chipons" paid xviiid. *pro se et suis filiis*, and Samson Clemens 2s. for the same. John Hamblye paid 6d. and 12d. in alternate years; Stephen Clemens paid 2s. 6d. regularly; John Carlyan 3½d. in 1602. It is under this head, too, that we must class the charges on servants, which I reserve for a separate paragraph. For I think it may be well—now that I have roughly indicated the subject-matter of Mr. Maye's accounts—if, before going further, I give here a specimen page, taken almost at hazard, out of his MS. The first page is mainly concerned with *debts* owing to the Vicar;

¹ *Personales decimae* are mentioned in one account.

² *The Clergy-Man's Law*, pp. 1021-2.

the second with certain *loans* or *gifts*, and among them the following—

"Lent Stephen Jacob to pay Thos. Taylor—	vjs.
paid to Thos. Baker for him—	xxs.
promised Steph. Gumow for his debt—	xxxvs.
promised Robt. Hodge—	vs."

from which I conclude that Parson Maye, eager as he was for his dues, was not without the milk of human kindness. He was not the man, however, to work for nothing, as the following entry proves—

"Laid out for Rose Trewynek her commission and the proctor's fees—	xlijs.
Item, for writing her Invent.	iijs. iiijd.
Item, more to Trevithick in 1606	xvijs. iiijd."

(He appears to have assisted Rose, who apparently could not write, in taking out letters of administration.) The page I cite is the third; in the first few lines I give all contracted forms in full.

"Carvarth, inhabitantes

[1599]

¹ John Vyvian senr.	5d vaccae	2d ob. vituli	2d herbae	2d poma—recepti	12d		
Año 1600	rec 12d	ut in precedente [anno]					
Año 1601	6d vaccae	4d ob. vituli	2d herbae	2d poma	2d canabi [hemp]	rec.	
Año 1602	6d vacc.	4d ob. vitul.	2d herb.	2d pom.	2d canabi	2d matrices [ewes]	privata acquisita 6d rec.
Año 1603	6d vacc.	4d ob. vitul.	2d herb.	2d poma	2d canab.	1d matr.	2d pulli
	2d lina [flax]	privata acquisita 6d; pro vellere lanac					16d
	debito anno precedente						

¹ A + is put here in the MS. before each year's account, probably to indicate that these sums were *paid*. The + was written at the same time as the account.

[1599]

	3d vacc.	1d ob. vitul.	4d matrices	1d herbae	6d poma	1d lina	p'vat.
John Renold			acq. 12d	rec.			
Año 1600	4d vacc.	2d vitul.	2d matr.	2d herbae	6d poma	p'vat. acq. 12d	rec.
Año 1601	4d vacc.	2d vitul.	1d matric.	2d herbae	6d poma	p'vat. acq. 12d	rec.
Año 1602	3d vacc.	1d vitul.	1d ob. matri.	2d herb.	6d poma	p'vat. acq. 10d	rec.
Año 1603	3d vacc.	1d ob. vitul.	2d mat.	2d herb.	6d poma	p'vat. acq. 6d	rec."

Now I propose, for the sake of the reader who, like rare Ben Jonson, knows "little Latin and less Greek," to translate one of these pages—page 8 it shall be—into English. Mr. Maye is now dealing with Tregonissey.

"[1599] Walter derdow [Daddow ?] cows, calves, ewes, grass, fruit, a servant, 40s¹: received 17d.

1600 cows, a calf, ewes, grass, fruit: a servant, 2s. for Pasco.

1601 cows, calves, ewes, grass, fruit: received 18d.

1602 cows, calves, ewes, grass, fruit, hemp, private earnings 6d: received.

1603 cows, calf, ewes, grass, fruit, hemp, fowls, private earnings 6d: received.

Thomas Trelevane for cows removed in 4 past years; private earnings in the year 1600 and in the preceding year, 2s.

* * * * *

[1599] John Trelevane owes a mortuary; cows, calves, ewes, fruit, grass; private earnings, 12d. A funeral fee: received.

¹ He means that a servant at 40s. *per annum* wage was kept here.

1600 4d 6d 4d 2d 2d 1d
 cows : calves : ewes : fruit : grass : a fowl : private
 earnings of Nicholas, 12d. received ; private earnings
 of John Treleven, 12d. received.

1601 2d 5d 3d 4d 4d
 cows : calves : ewes : fruit : grass : private earnings
 12d. : hemp : received

1602 4d 2d 2d 4d 4d
 cows : calves : ewes : fruit : grass : servant Davies 12d. :
 private earnings 6d. : hemp 2d. : received

1603 4d 2½d 2d 2d 4d
 cows, calves, ewes, fruit, grass, private earnings 12d.,
 4d
 oblation.

Nichs. Treleven in the year 1601 ; received private
 earnings 12d.

2d 6½d 3d
 Thos. Treleven cows, calves, ewes, private earnings 6d."

These extracts will give the reader a very fair idea of the contents of the book—*ex uno disce omnes*. It was not always, however, that Parson Maye had to calculate his dues in twopences and threepences—it will be observed, by the way, that he descends to *halfpennies* ; we read just now of 1d. *ob.* (*i.e.*, *obolus*) for calves ; elsewhere he does not scorn to charge *farthings* ; Stephen Hodge paid 1d. *quadr.* for ewes in '99—for as often as not the tithepayer made a composition with him, paying a fixed sum year by year : Thos. Culleis, *e.g.*, in 1603, *exoneratur per solucionem compositionis suae*. Similarly, John Josephe, junr., at Carbean, paid 15s. in 1599, *et sic est compositum de Anno in Annum*. Thomas Vanson, at "Gomheath," who in 1603 paid vijs. for the two preceding years, now made a composition for 3s. 4d. yearly¹—and so forth. The compositions do not appear to have been put down in writing—except in this book² : probably but few of his parishioners

¹ " *Et est facta compositio cum eo pro dicto Agestimento. Annua summa 3s. 4d.*"

² The "Blazie Compositions," in *Anno Dom.* 1599 (twelve in number) are entered in a separate list.

could read; but we often hear of the witnesses in whose presence they were made. The agreement with John Jöseph, for example, just referred to, was made *testibus W^o. Carlyan et Eduardo hooper*. Another, with Luke Pears of Trenarren, "for their boote," was attested, as we have seen, by "Mr. Kendall, Mr. Wouldridge and others," and the occupant of Treverbryn Mill was exonerated from tithes *per compotum factum in presentia Penhale et Henrici Pethrick*, and so with many more. Life in those days had but few distractions, and peasants had tenacious memories—so for the matter of that they have now, in all money transactions at least. They may forget to pay, but they remember the amount.

I now proceed to observe that, small as the amounts for the most part were—or as they seem to us—they were not always punctually paid. We often hear of *arreragia*, arrears, and occasionally they were of long standing. John Baker, for example, in 1600, owed for the two preceding years; so did Vanson at Gomheath and Richd. Warring of Trembere, who in 1603 "paid for all things before that dew and he is clered"—he had paid nothing since 1599; John Honye paid vijs. in 1602, but "he oweth other vijs."; Ed. Clemens was not the only one who owed a lamb and a fleece of wool; of many a tithe-payer it is recorded, "*solvit in sequente anno*." Thomas Allyn settled for all his former debts in 1603; it is added that Rich. Tredinam had stood surety for them. Stephen Dadow paid 8s. 2d. for *de antique per patrem debita*. We find, as we should expect, that Easter was the usual time for settlement—Easter and Michaelmas. Thos. Cock's payments were made regularly *in festo Paschatis*; Luke Pears' reckoning, his composition for the tithe of fish, *solvendum in festis Michaelis et Pasche*; Stephen Harry owed "for a yeare and half ended at Michmas next"; of several tithe-payers we are told, "*solvit in festo Paschatis pro*

anno precedente." But this was not the invariable rule. Of Rich. Bennett the Vicar writes, "he oweth me more for my cow and right dew at *Whitsun tyde* next." Richard Opye "compounded for the tithe fish of his bote called the George untill *St. James tyde* next," but I observe that the next payment cleared him "untill the 25th of March." The "Blazie compositions in *Anno Dom. 1599*" began and ended at Michaelmas, but were mostly paid at Easter; the "Austle servants" also reckoned at Easter. Most of the tithe-payers would appear to have settled with Mr. Maye personally, as, for example, did Johannes Scollier, who paid xs. in 1601—*unde dedi 6d*—"out of which I returned him 6d." So with Phillip Daddowe who in 1602 "*computavit pro omnibus et est dismissus quietus.*" Occasionally, however, as we might expect, the money was remitted by a brother or a neighbour. Thus Johannes Scollier, who has just appeared before us in *propria persona*, on another occasion "*solvit per manus Thome Congon*"; Phillip Josephe paid his dues "*per Jo. Joseph eius fratrem*": in 1602 his payment was made "by Jo. Josep's wyffe." This Jo. Joseph was apparently much in request as an intermediary or messenger; John Marke of Higher Buscavellack paid through him *thrice* and twice "by Elford," whose name appears several times: was he, I wonder, a sort of collector? Richard ffarrowe "*exoneratur . . . per manus Johannis filii sui,*" and so forth. I gather from the record that Mr. Maye sat on certain days of the year to receive his dues, and that most of the tithe-payers paid in person—perhaps there was a tithe dinner afterwards—but that some were so old or infirm or sick or busy that they remitted their moneys through a neighbour or friend.

I now come to the charges on *Agistments*. Tithes were payable on the profits made by feeding cattle on commons

or other pasture lands, and such tithes we find levied by and paid to our good parson. In the very first page we read : Stephen Harry *debet pro Agestament in Carvarth*, ijs. viiid.—this was for two years. For 20 *acres* in Rosweeke Thomas Cock paid vijs. in 1600 and viijs. in later years. Richard Cock's "justment rent"—he had 12 acres—was 4s. Phillip Bodye at "Bogeth," on his "Agestment" of 60 acres, paid xxvs. *per annum*, whereas Richard Warring, with a similar acreage at Trembere, only paid xvjs.—in both cases they settled at Easter; John Cowch at Rescorla paid as little as 4d., whilst "Walter Kendall esq," for his Agestment of 30 *acres*, paid only 3s. : "*solvit apud Lostwithiel*," it is added—payments, we find, were not uncommonly made there, but why I am not certain. Phillip Josephe, on the contrary, who had 40 acres, paid vjs. viijd.—of course, the land, and therefore the pasture, varied greatly in quality.¹ For the *pastura duorum animalium pinguum* at Menagwins, Wm. Carlyan paid 26d.²

But let us now turn from the produce of the land to the harvest of the sea—to the tithes on fish. From Stephen Tom at Porth in 1603 the Vicar "*rec^d* for his [Tom's] share of great fishe at this tyme Dew and past at our lady last the some of vs." At Trenarren, where at this time there must have been a considerable population, the tithe of fish taken by the boat called *Trinity* was compounded for 12s. : those of the boat *perel* [Pearl] were 6s. at Michaelmas, 1603, and another six

¹ Mr. Maye makes mention of *pastura bona* at "Knightier."

² Later on we have a list of the *Agestaments held in Anno 1600*. It contains 22 names—I give the first and the last.

"John Hambly holdeth their [at Carvath] Mr. Killiow's land, which Baker held and the tith thereof is . . .

* * * * *

Wm. Treffry Esquire holdeth in Trethirgy and payeth yerly 4^{li} (₧4) the tith is accordinge."

Wm. Vivian paid 9^{li} : John Coll of Golant xvjd.

at Easter, 1604. Richard Opye's boat, "the George," in 1601 paid "for Tyth" xvjd., on the 21th.(sic) of May, and in 1602 compounded for 16s., while Mathew Tonking's boat, *The Colt*, paid "for the tith of the *Anno* [1600] of all fishing, saine pilcherd and sayning maccrell, xxs and 6d, paid at Michmas and Ester in my grace." At "Blazie," Mr. Maye "compounded (in 1600) with John Pendrey and his partner Richard Cock for tithe of their bote called *the makeshift*," and with one Thomas "for all fishing except sayning craft for the rent of xxs.," but he only received xs. Further, he compounded with John Younge "for one boote called *the John*, whereof John Rowse and he are owners, for the same rent" (i.e., 20s.): "in his grace" he "rec^d *in parte* 8s. 10d." Also, John Menhire and Otis Haine paid "for tithe of their sayne and men shared before 24th of August vijs.," after which the Vicar "rec^d of Otis Haine for the same men and right shared before the 14 of September xlijs." "Rouse and Pendrey owners" paid xvs. in 1600; then we read, whatever it may mean, "for Rouse sayne and Youngs that day shared *and the women*¹ xvs. iijd."; for a sharing on Sept. 7th he had xliijs. So that altogether, in spite of the *arreragia piscium*, the income from this source was not to be despised.

Another of the sweets of office in those days came to the parson in the shape of Easter offerings and mortuaries. The Easter offering was the sum of twopence (by custom it might be more), which was payable by every parishioner who was of age to be a communicant—some authorities give the age as sixteen. And in Mr. Maye's time they were paid. We have on the last page of the first book a list of *Oblacions at Easter Anno 1600*. It would seem as if the Vicar or his deputy

¹ I imagine that "the women" were those employed in salting the fish. Their wages would be tithable.

sat in the Church to receive them most days of Easter week. He received *primo die a Willelmo Allyn* xiid. ; *secundo, in ecclesia* xij. s. vjd. ; *tercio in ecclesia* ijs. ijd. ; on the fourth day (also in the Church), vijs. xd. ; on the fifth, xxxvijs. 8d. ; and on the last, iij⁴. js. 4d. ; altogether £6 : 3 : 6, which represents—presuming that each paid 2d. and no more—the offerings of 741 persons, so that this amount, if we could depend upon it, would be some help towards estimating the population at this period. One cannot, however, be positive, for it may include arrears.¹ On an earlier page, after this statement, “Mathew Ivy paid for his duties at Easter in Anno 1602 then dew, 2s.,” we find the following—“Anno 1603. Rec^d for Easter duties then dew xliijd.” This greatly reduced sum encourages a suspicion that the “Oblacions” of 1600 must have been above the average. The book gives one the impression that the Vicar was at this period making a special effort to realize his dues ; it is also clear that he experienced some difficulty in getting in his money. “Mortuaries” or corse-presents were payable (in some places) on the death of every householder. Their amount was fixed by a statute of Henry VIII. ; in no case was it to exceed 10s. Jane Bond of Trenarren paid only 3s. 4d. on her husband’s death, so that his moveable goods cannot have exceeded £30 in value ; but Joan Tonking of Roseweek paid 10s., so that her late husband’s chattels were worth over £40. I also find frequent mention of a funeral fee (*funerale* or *sepultura*), which also varied in amount. Thus Rich. Carlyan, Wm. Stephen and Nich. Thorne paid 5d. each, John Honey owed 6d.,² John Treleaven paid 7d.

¹ Arrears are mentioned. John Honey, e.g., owed in 1606 *oblaciones* ijd.

² Honey also owed 3s. 4d. *pro regracione testamenti* and something for his *onus executorialis*. Altogether, he was in bad arrears, for he owed a sum total of £3 12s. I wonder was it ever paid ?

Now I come to the tithes paid by servants, or in some cases, perhaps, by their masters for them—"wages-men's tithes" he calls them in one place. The reader will have observed that 12d. was paid by or for "*Servus Davies*" in the account of p. 251. Elsewhere we find a note—"Service of Thomas Congon; wages 5^{li.}," but what was paid does not appear. Nor does it in the case of "*Ambrosse Skewes*," servant to Alexander Bone, whose yearly wages reached £6, the highest stipend I have met with: it is almost as much as the Curate had at St. Blazey. Hodge, servant to John Hambly at Tregongeeves, had only 40s. wage, and his servants Agnes and Alson Beaton but 13s. 4d. each, but they, no doubt, were lodged and boarded in the house. For one or all of these Hambly paid 2s. 4d. in 1600, and for one servant 2s. in 1602, and 8d. in 1604. Later on, Mr. Maye favours us with a list (which I give *in extenso*) of

"Austle Servants in Anno Domini 1599 that paid

Nicholas Dalamyne serves R. Tonking, wages 13s. 8d.....	viijd.
Alice Polkinghorne . . . 13s. 4d.....	viijd.
Thomas Nicoll, serves Coisgarne.....	xiiijd.
Margery Allen, <i>serva ejusdem Domini</i>	8d.
Elizabeth Thomas serves W. Stephen.....	8
Robert Nicholas <i>servit sua manu</i>	12d.
Peter Burges, servant.....	
W ^m Payne, servant.....	xvj. rec.
Ed. Aunter serves Mr. Saule.....	xvj. d.
Ipsigh Carlyane, serves Richard Body.....	xd.
John Brihan serves Mr. Kendall.....	xvj. d.
John Cowlyn <i>servus ejusdem</i>	xxd.
Marget Robyn <i>serva ejusdem</i>	viijd.
Thomasine Northey <i>serva ejusdem</i>	viijd.
John Penhale serves H. Cowch . . . 25s.	xvd.
John Nawle serves Mr. Saule.....	xijd.
Mathew John serves Joseph of Grey	viijd.

W ^m Portery serves Mathew Tonking	
Jane Vice serves Jo. Martyn	xd.
Bennet Bosvarva serves Richard Sanders . . .	28s.....
Hamond Penhale serves Jo. Hodge	xxd.
Ed. Hoper serves Mr. Kendall.....	xviijd.
Jo. Thomas, upon his hand.....	
Robert Menhire, servant	xvjd.
Otes Davy serves Rich ^d . Robyn.....	xijd.
Davyd May serves Dalla [mine ?].....	xvd.
W ^m Clemens, servant.....	
W ^m Portery serves Mathew Tonking ¹	12d.
Marget Rescorla, servant	6d.
Jo. Dadow Jun ^r . serves Hony.....	xxd.
Jo. Holton serves R. ffar	vjd.
John Soper, servant.....	ijs.
John Dadow Jun ^r , servant.....	xxd."

We have also a list for 1600, another for 1601, and a third for 1604.² And the curious thing is that these three lists have very few names in common. One of Mr. Saule's servants, J. Nawle, or Nawell—for his name varied, like his master's—appears in each, and eight names appear in two lists, but that is all. The inference from which is, either that servants paid most irregularly or that they did not keep their situations much longer than they do now: probably they were hired at the annual Statutes and remained for the year. Of one, a servant of Mr. Kendall's (I find he had five servants, and Mr. Saule four), Elizabeth Paulye by name, Mr. Maye records *dudum venit et non stetit mensem*—"came but lately and did not stop a month." Of Elizabeth Robyn, who only

¹ This is a second entry. But this time the amount is given. *Serva*, serves, etc., are not writ large in the MS. Mr. Maye uses an abbreviation. "Upon his hand" means obviously "On his own account."

² He also gives a list of "Blazie servants" in 1599—six men and two women. In 1600 only two are mentioned; in 1603 one man and two women servants appear to have paid 2s. 4d. altogether.

paid 6d., it is recorded that she "serves p. d."—which I take to mean that she was a sort of charwoman who went out by the day. This is the smallest sum paid; ijs. is the highest, with two exceptions, Pasco Dadow and "John the Tynner," each of whom paid iijjs.—probably this charge was for skilled labour.

Now we must turn from Mr. Maye's receipts to the pages which record his *payments*—they were chiefly made to Sir Marten Parnall, the Curate at St. Blazey. This good Levite appears to have received his stipend in very small driblets, and sometimes his account was overdrawn; well it might be, when the pay was so meagre, only eight pounds a year.¹ On March 26th, 1600, we have this "Memorandum, that the same day and yere I reconed with Sir Martyn Parnall, and he dothe owe me, above all things dew unto him at the 14th of May next, the full some of xxs. more." Then follows the reckoning; I give a few items. "I payd him at Whitson Day fayre at Bodmyn, 10s." "More, White paid him which was rec^d. of Wilton, iiijjs." "Item, paid the 26th of August by myself xxs." "Item, more at severall tymes in money, before March xxs." "So I owe (thus the account concludes) Ser Martyn no wages but have paid for this quarter till the 14th day of May next and he must allow me in the next accompt the hole receipts of the Regester booke." This must have been cold comfort to the poor Curate, but his signature proves that he admitted the stern correctness of the calculation. One wonders how he lived from March until May 23rd, when he received his next 10s. On one occasion he received xls. all at once, but this was a special favour "against his daughter's wedding." I give the entire account for one half-year—he has apparently had a gratifying increase of salary—

¹ Mr. Maye gives 40s. as the *summa* of one quarter's pay in 1601. From Sept., 1601, however, to May, 1602, Sir Marten received 120s.

"Item, paid Sir Martyn at St. Blasy, the 4th of September		
1602—monye		xs.
Item, for a subsidy.....		vijs.
and to Eles Bennett		xijd.
more the 8 th of November		xxijs.
more the 6 th of December, at Bodmyn		xs.
more, the last of January.....		xxs.
more by Trenaure in February		xs.
more to your wiffe in Foye, the 5 th of March		vs.
paid your self the first of Aprill, 1603.....		xs.
for the Regester booke ended at the 25 th of March last ...		vs.
more to make up his quarter his payment which will be		
full at the 14 th of May next		xxs.
[Signed] MARTEN PARNALL."		

I conclude these extracts, which by no means exhaust the interest of the book,¹ by transcribing for the reader's benefit Mr. Maye's receipt "to make good incke." I must say, if he used his own manufacture in writing these accounts, it has stood the test of time fairly well.

"Take a quarte of goode stronge beere; of bruised Galls 4 oz.; of Coppras finely beaten 3 oz.; of gumme, 2 oz.; and a quarter of a spooneful of bay salte. Stere yt every day till nyne dayes be fulle."

I trust that no one will affirm, after this piece of information, that these pages contain nothing practical.

¹ St. Austell people may be interested to hear that at this period there was a Rashleigh at Coombe—he is dignified as "Esquire," as is Lewes Dart (mentioned by Carew and, I believe, by Leland) at Polrudden. Mr. Kendall was apparently at Lavrean; Mr. Woulridge at Trewiddle; John Killiow, Esq., is mentioned in connection with Porth, near Merther, where was the family of La, as the Moyles were at Trevissick. Mr. Saule is put down under "Teuington" (Towan?), Wm. Carlyan under Menagwyns. At Roseweek there was quite a nest of Tonkings. Edward Coisgarne was at "Trevarrack." The longest account is perhaps that of Jno. Hambye at "Tregangeues." In connection with "Austell Church Towne" we have 37 names, but 19 of the number seem to have paid nothing. The Scobles, Hexts and others do not appear in these pages; perhaps they were *in alio libro*.

CHAPTER XIV.

OUR PARISH—ITS BROAD FEATURES.

IF the reader has found anything to interest him in the Church or "Church town" of St. Austell, or, indeed, if he has *not*, I think I can promise him something to engage his attention and charm his fancy, if he will now accompany me on a few excursions through the parish. I was going to hazard the statement that ours is a typical Cornish parish—because of its rugged, indented coast and its breezy, furzy downs, its wooded valleys and bare uplands, its scattered hamlets and isolated town places (in this county a nest of two or three cottages about a farm-house is dignified with the name of "town place"): its many meeting-houses, its mines, clayworks and fisheries—but on second thoughts I do not know that it is typical; it is perhaps too diversified and many-sided to be that. Anyhow, it is a *comprehensive* Cornish parish; it embraces within its borders most of the salient features of this singular county, and for that reason, if for no other, I think these walks will be found to be interesting.

The civil parish, then, is a continent of 12,000 acres, being more than ten miles long, with some seven miles of sea-board. In my first parish we had over 1,200 people packed, like sardines in a box, into ten acres of ground; in my present charge, St. Austell ecclesiastical, there are, or were in 1891, but 5,702 persons in 4,525 acres, and this is quite a

dense population compared with many parts of this sparsely-inhabited region. Altarnun, for example, has but 900 souls in 11,200 acres, St. Neot 1,000 in 14,000, and Bolventor 300 in 6,000. But then it must be remembered that the population of the whole county is not equal to that of Leeds or Sheffield, and, as I have already remarked,¹ it is steadily declining, owing principally to the closing of the mines; in the decade between '71 and '81 it decreased by just one-tenth. In a village not four miles away there were recently, out of a hundred houses, no less than forty-five inhabited only by women and children; the men had all gone to seek their fortunes in foreign parts.² But, *revenons à nos moutons!* St. Austell is hardly a fair representative of the county in another respect, namely, that it is so much more engaging and picturesque than most parts of Cornwall, and above all West Cornwall, are. I do not know that the county as a whole can be justly pronounced beautiful: "parts of it," like the Curate's egg, "are excellent," and other parts very much the reverse—"stale, flat, and unprofitable." It has been happily compared to an indifferent picture in a gorgeous frame. The interior, and especially the table-land in the centre, with its downs, its scrub and its *scoriae*, like the interior of Australia, gives to me and to many others the impression of "profound melancholy."³ But, thanks to the

¹ Page 2.

² Cornwall stands third among the counties of England in which the females outnumber the males. There are 116 women to every 100 men. The proportion for the whole of England and Wales is 106 women to 100 men. In Cardiganshire there are 127 women to 100 men, in Glamorganshire only 90·8.

³ "To persons travelling by the common roads, the county of Cornwall appears peculiarly bare and uninviting. . . . The waste lands were formerly reckoned at one-fifth of the whole county—there have been many recent enclosures, however." *Gazetteer of Cornwall*, 1817. This writer mentions, as if by way of compensation, that "it returns more Members to Parliament than any other county in the kingdom," the whole number of representatives being forty-four. Places like Tregony, Grampound, Fowey, West Looe, East Looe, Camelford, etc., etc., had two members apiece. The Reform Bill, however, changed all that.

rugged, jagged, iron-bound coast, and also to the many pleasant *combes* or valleys which run up from it, that is hardly the impression which the county as a whole leaves upon the mind. It is not, perhaps, a joyous or a smiling land—it is not rich in pastoral beauty—but it is interesting and engaging. St. Austell, however, is beautiful; there are few finer things in Cornwall than the Pentewan valley,¹ and if the coast is not so stern and grand and stately as are the cliffs of Newquay or Bedruthan, still it has charms of verdure and of colouring to which they are strangers. We have also, as already hinted, our “fuzzy downs,” our patches of moorland, with gorse² and heather in great abundance, but, alas! with never a tree. I do not mention these, of course, as proofs of the picturesque, though some people find endless enjoyment therein, but they are certainly characteristic. The stranger in this “Wild West” of England is at first much impressed, not to say *depressed*, by its baldness and nakedness, and he may perhaps think of Madrid, where the traveller is often asked, on his arrival, if he “saw the tree” (there is but one) on his way thither. No trees will grow here on any elevated spot exposed to the furious and salt-laden blasts of the West wind; it must be remembered that there is nothing between our North coast and North America. It is said that the trees were cut down centuries ago to furnish fuel for the smelting furnaces,³ but

¹ I have read somewhere that a Russian lady, when she saw the Bay of Naples in all its glory, exclaimed, “C'est bien joli, mais ce n'est pas la Sibérie.” Similarly, I have more than once in Switzerland found myself murmuring, “This is all very well, but give me our valley.” As Lord Beaconsfield observed, men tire of lakes and mountains, but never weary of pastoral scenes.

² The gorse is a sight to behold, worth going some way to see. It revels in the sandy soil.

³ Miss Fiennes believed the timber to have been absorbed by the mines. She says, “Those mines do require a great deal of timber to support them and to make all those engines and mills which makes fewell very scarce here” (p. 219).

the sceptic cannot help wondering whether they ever grew at all in such exposed positions. Anyhow, this absence of trees, so dear to all lovers of nature, is one of the express lineaments of the county. Someone—a local poet, I presume—has thus apostrophized it—

“ Oh, Cornwall, wretched, barren spot of ground,
Where hardly aught but rocks and furze is found !
Thy produce scarce provides thy sons with bread,
Nor finds them wood for coffins when they're dead ! ” ¹

I have, however, been told that if you count in coppices and plantations, our peninsula stands *third* among English counties in point of woods and forests. The fact is, our trees, like Brer Rabbit, “ lie low.” They are stowed away in the valleys, where they have some protection against the pitiless storms, and they are generally huddled close together for companionship ; so close that *large* growths of timber are impossible ; so close, too, that you can hardly “ see the trees because of the wood.” The woodman is afraid to thin out redundant growths lest the next storm should tear a passage, as with a ploughshare, through his plantation.² It is curious to observe, too, how, as soon as a tree presumes to thrust its head above the line of shelter, it is straightway throttled and cruelly buffeted by the tempests. All our timber, wherever the wind can get at it, has a crimped and driven and tortured

¹ I must, however, in justice to the county, add the next stanza, which takes a very commercial view of our place among the shires of England—

“ Oh, Cornwall, happy, blessed spot of ground,
Where richest ores of every kind abound !
Thy very hills are brass ; thy rocks are tin ;
Thy wealth is not exposed without, but hid within.”

² I have heard the extremely low pitch of most of our Cornish Churches accounted for by the danger which would threaten taller structures in a storm. Miss Fiennes remarks on the absence of windmills, “ I saw not a windmill all over Cornwall and Devonshire, though they have wind and hills enough.” She supposes “ it may be *too Bleake* for them.” There is also much water power in our valleys.

appearance; I pass much which reminds me of that solitary tree, blasted by the wind, on the Mount of Corruption, on which, as tradition tells us, Judas hanged himself. You often see elm or oak pushing bravely upwards till it reaches the storm-line, when off it goes at a right angle. They tell of a merchant from the Midlands who came to visit a Cornish "passon," and who was much exercised in his mind by these uncanny and fantastic growths. "Dear me," he cried, "what a remarkable tree, to be sure!" "Yes," replied his friend, "that is peculiar to this county; we call it *quercus horizontalis*!" Our weather-beaten hedges, again, are regularly graded, where they do not strike out at right angles, into a sort of curve, in section like a horn—broad at the base, but receding to a feather-edge at the summit. It is rumoured that a Scotch gardener once came to one of our big houses with a view to a situation. He was duly shown the vineries and the pineries, the flower and the kitchen garden, to all of which he professed himself quite equal. But he must confess, he added, that he was quite unequal to the *hedges*; he had never seen them clipped in that fashion before. "O," said the master of the house, "you may be quite easy on that score; nature trims our hedges for us, and so saves us further trouble."

But if our trees are so often stunted and contorted, we have some compensation in the vigorous, the luxuriant growth of our *shrubs*. All kinds of conifers flourish in our valleys, attaining dimensions seldom seen elsewhere, whilst there is perhaps no place in England where the rhododendron grows and blooms as it does in and around St. Austell, the choice Himalayan varieties being quite naturalized in our granitic soil. A lady once asked Bishop Phillpotts if he did not admire the shrubs of the county. "Yes, indeed," he replied; "your shrubs are trees." "And your trees," he presently added, "are *scrubs*."

The mildness of our climate, some half-dozen degrees warmer than London in winter and as many degrees cooler in summer, encourages growths which under other conditions would be impossible. Not only do the palm and the scented verbena, the myrtle,¹ fuschia and hydrangea defy our brief frosts, but even the lapageria and the bougainvillea are found, in certain sheltered nooks, growing out of doors.² The visitor who wants to see what our Cornish *flora* can do, should ask permission—it will be readily granted—to walk through the grounds of Trevarrick or Duporth. On the former the present proprietor, Mr. R. G. Lakes, has expended almost a lifetime of loving care, and the latter has been described as an “earthly Paradise,” and it is not, like Naples, “a Paradise inhabited by devils.” I present the reader with a view taken from the terrace at Duporth.

And these excursions through the outlying hamlets will also afford the stranger another satisfaction, in the opportunities he will enjoy of studying our domestic life and architecture. Of the latter, but little can be said: it is not exactly of a striking order. Our cottages are about as unpicturesque as they make them—such a contrast to the timbered houses of Thuringia, or the wooden chalets of Switzerland: I never return from either place without feeling our inferiority acutely; they are also far behind the thatched homesteads of Suffolk and the mullion-windowed dwellings of the Yorkshire dales. Whether this is “an age of prose” or not, this is certainly, in many ways, a prosaic county; you have only to glance at our cottages to see that. It is not only that they

¹ “Myrtles may be seen along the entire Southern coast, as at Looe.” *Illustr. Itin.*, p. 9.

² At Lamorran, for example, where a late Rector, the Rev. the Hon. J. T. Boscawen, had a celebrated garden, in which he found much satisfaction. It is averred that you were not permitted to enter by the front door because of the creepers. The lapageria grows out of doors at North Hill in St. Austell.

are dwarfed and plain to a degree, but they are either plastered with whitewash, or when that is not the case, the lintel and the two side-posts of the door are frequently adorned by the tasteful Cornishman with a white border—an excellent arrangement, no doubt, in pit villages, where the miner must be very far gone in his cups to mistake that staring landmark. But here, most happily, there is little or no need for such friendly



DUPORTH.

From a Photograph by B. Julian.

beacons. It is quite an event, at least in the company which I frequent or in the streets and lanes which I traverse, to see a Cornishman the worse for drink. It was not always so; it was not thus when the mines were prosperous, but it is undeniable that our people, of the working class especially, are now models of sobriety.¹ I had been here for months before I

¹ In the middle class, it must be admitted, we have had some seasoned toppers. But nothing like the number they have elsewhere.

saw a drunken man, and when I did, he had not advanced very far ; not beyond the " British constitution " stage. A gentleman of this neighbourhood tells me that, being on a pedestrian tour in the West of the county, he inquired one morning, as he passed through a village, for the public-house, hoping to get some breakfast there. He was presently surrounded by a crowd of children, members, no doubt, of the local " Band of Hope," who pursued his steps with cries of " Drunkard ! Wants a public-house first thing in the morning ! " This, too, is a fact, that a clergyman near Camelford, finding a girl in a country lane who had been bitten by a viper, supported her to the Rectory and gave her some brandy, like the Good Samaritan that he was. He was somewhat taken aback, however, when the next day her indignant friends came to reproach him, in no measured terms, for his good offices. The girl was a " life abstainer," and he had given her " the devil in solution " ! It might be as well, therefore, if this white border were replaced, say by honeysuckle. The student of our rural architecture will not fail to observe the slate awning over the door, nor yet the hatch or half-door, which is invariable in the older cottages.¹ He must not be misled, however, by the dates inscribed over some of the chapel porticoes, into the belief that they date from a remote antiquity. " B.C. 1881 " does not mean in Cornubian what it means elsewhere : it stands for " Bible Christian chapel ; built in 1881." A Cockney was once greatly perplexed by such a superscription ; he meditated long, and then incredulously shook his head.

If our houses are not externally striking, however, they are

¹ In the district about the Land's End a custom once prevailed known as " riding the hatch." Persons suspected of immorality were mounted on the half-door, which was then violently rocked until they fell off. If the accused fell into the house, he was judged to be innocent ; if into the street, guilty. *Cornish Feasts and Folklore*, p. 70.

generally clean and comfortable within, though they are perhaps more meanly furnished than are cottages in the heart of England. Many of them are entirely destitute of ceilings and the floor is of a rough plaster or composed of rude slabs of stone. Some of them, again, here and there, are extremely dilapidated and would long ago have fallen if they could only have made up their minds which direction to take. Callington is said to be the politest town in England, because the houses on one side the street are for ever bowing to those on the other side. I ascribe these ill-conditioned buildings and this chronic disrepair to our system of tenure. Most of these cottages are built on land leased on lives—three lives or ninety-nine years is the usual term. That is not the same thing as your freehold—" 'Tis a poor virgin, sir, but 'tis mine own !"—and the tenant who may be turned out to-morrow, if the last surviving life is quenched, cannot and will not uphold the premises as the owner of the "land" does: freeholds are called "land" hereabouts, and the ground-rent is known as the "high-rent." Speaking of leases *on lives*, it is sometimes told, as illustrating the Cornish longevity, the result of their frugality and sobriety (I have myself buried a parishioner aged 100 years and 10 days !), that once on a time an old man came to the lawyer's office with a bundle of papers under his arm, carefully swathed in his red pocket-handkerchief. "I've a brought they writins," he said, as he proceeded to divest the deed of its envelope. "Why, you don't mean to say," said the lawyer's clerk, after glancing at them, "that old So-and-so is dead?" "Naw," answered the patriarch, "I béant dead nat yet, but the ninety-nine years is out." So that he was well over the hundred ! The interior of our cottages is frequently, though not so frequently as it was, brightened by a dresser, displaying a copious collection of crockery—china dogs, with chains of gilt,

are especial favourites—and in some houses the cosy “settle” still finds a place before the hearth, but it is but seldom that we have any antiques to show. Whether the old oak chairs and chests have been broken up, like Pallissy’s, to feed the smelting fires, after the forests gave in, I could not say, but there are few traces of them left.

The stranger will also, I think, be interested, as he passes along, in observing the distinctively Cornish names both of the places and of the people. “There heard I a language that I understood not.” It is not only the predominance of *Tre*, *Pol* and *Pen*¹ that is so noticeable, but other names, racy of the soil, are equally strange to outsiders. I do not think that I shall weary the reader if I devote a brief space to our local nomenclature. Here then in St. Austell parish or its immediate vicinity we have as names of *places*, Trenance,² Trevarrick, Trethowel, Tregorrick, Trewhiddle (or Trewydel), Trenarren, Trevissick, Tregonissey, Treverbyn, Trethurgey, Tregongeeves, Tregontrees, Trenavissick, Trenoweth, Tregrehan, Tremena, Tretharrup, Treskilling, Trembear, Trelawny, Trenowah, Tregassick, Tregiskey. As names of *persons* we possess our Tremaynes, Tredinnicks, Tretheweys, Tregonnings, Tregaskises, Tregidgas, Tregenzas, Trebilcocks, Treganowans, Treleavens, Trevans, Trenberthes,

¹ “By *Tre*, *Pol* and *Pen*

You shall know the Cornishmen,”

sometimes enlarged thus—

“By *Tre*, *Ros*, *Pol*, *Lan*, *Car* and *Pen*

You may know the most Cornishmen.”

² *Tre*, it is almost needless to say, means *place*, *dwelling*. According to Canon Taylor (*Words and Places*, p. 152) “it occurs 96 times in the village names of Cornwall”—“more than 1,000 times if we include hamlets and homesteads.” It is also found 20 times in Wales, 5 times in Herefordshire, thrice in Devon, and once in several Midland and Northern counties, as Treton in Yorks. “It is frequent,” he says, “in Brittany,” and “it occurs some 30 times in other parts of France.” He also traces this root in *Treves*, *Troyes*, *Trieste*, *Trient*, etc.

Treffrys, Tregions, and have had Trevanions, Treloars, Tresidders, Tregennas, Trevithicks, Tregenows, Tremonts, Trewins, Trengoves, Trenances, Treleases, Trengrowses, Tresoderns, Trewinneys, Trehares. The *Pols* and *Pens* are not quite so popular, but of the former we have, or have had, families named Polkinghorne, Polsue, Polwhele, Polgrene, Polgoone; and as places, Polkyth,¹ Polgooth, Polruddan, Polglase, Polmear (the old name of Charlestown; it is still represented in Polmear Farm), Polgwyn (Beach), Polkerris (across the bay), Polphemy and Poltarrow (in St. Mewan). Of *Pens*² we have Pentewan, Penrice, Pencegullas, Penweir, Pendelow, Penhale, Pengrugla, Penwithick, Penellick, Penhedra, Penare, Penventon, Pencarrow, among our local habitations; and among our family names Penna, Penwarden, Penhaligon, Penaluna, Penalurick, Pendry. Of other names not to be ranked with "the first three" are the *Cars*³—Carvath, Carthew, Carbean, Carclaze, Carlyon, Cardew, Carloggas, Garkar [Carker?] Carluddon, Carwallon, Carrancarrow, Carrickowell, Carbis, Carngray, Carnjewey, Carnmoggis, Carne, Carenas; the *Lans*⁴—Lanjeth, Lanyon, Lansalson,

¹ *Pol* is supposed to be "another form of the name of the god *Balder*"—perhaps a connection of the Syrian Baal. *Names and Places*, p. 220. I can hardly believe, however, that all our many "pols" represent the sites of ancient Pagan altars. Has it not something to do with "pool," as is the case in *Pwll'helli*, *Pwll-meurig*, etc.? Dr. Bannister, in a tract on *Cornish Names*, interprets it to mean "pool," or "head"—compare "poll"—a conjecture affording a wide choice, but suggesting great uncertainty.

² *Pen* (compare *Ben*, as the name of mountains in Scotland) is Welsh for "head." It is "widely diffused through Europe." We trace it, e.g., in the *Pennine* range, the *Appennines*, Mount *Pinus*, and the hill *La Penne*, near Marseilles. At home, it presents itself in Penmaenmawr, Pendleton, Pen Hill, Penrith, Pennigant (a considerable hill in Yorks.), Penshurst, Pencoid, Pembroke, Pentlaw, etc. Thus *Pensance* means "the Saints' headland," *Pentewan* "the Towan headland," etc.

³ *Car* is certainly the same as *Caer* in Welsh (cf. *Caermarthen*, *Caerleon*), but whether we are to connect it with the Latin *castra* (as in "Chester," "Doncaster," etc.), or with the Erse *caithair*, a fortress, is doubtful. Anyhow, it points to a military post.

⁴ *Lan* (Welsh *Llan*), like the Irish *Kil*, indicates a religious enclosure, a place set apart as a sanctuary. There are 479 "*Llans*" in Wales and some 1,400 "*Kils*" in Ireland. This prefix "often enables us to detect the spots first dedicated to Christian worship."

Lanhadron ; the *Nans*—Nansladron, Nanpean, Nancollas, Nankivell¹; the *Menas*—Menacuddle, Menagwins, Menabilly.² Some others I put down alphabetically without any pretence at classification, viz., Alseveor, Barbolingey, Biscovallack, Boscoppa, Boscundle, Bojea, Bosinver, Bohemia, Buzza, Behenna, Benetto, Bennallack, Bolitho, Clymo, Clemo, Colenso, Carvosso, Canamaning, Cuddra, Chytane, Chyprase, Cockaluney,³ Drennick, Fentengellan, Glentowan, Gwendra (a beach), Gotha, Gewans, Hallane, Lavrean, Levalsa, Ledrah, Mulvra, Molingey, Molinnis, Nancemellin, Pharnyssick, Rescorla, Resugga, Restineas, Sconhoe, Vallanoweth, Vounder, etc. In a former parish we had a schoolmistress of the name of *Eighteen*—we used to say they might have made it *Twenty*—and a rate collector called *Paternoster*, but these were our jewels ; the bulk of the names were of the ordinary English types ; here, on the other hand, it is difficult to divest yourself of the feeling that you are in a foreign land. And indeed, it is suspected that some of these hidalgo-looking names, like Bolitho and Carvalho, Iago and Jose, are of foreign origin, perhaps inherited from the Spaniards who were cast upon our coast at the time of the Armada.⁴ It is said that the inhabitants of Mevagissey, for example, exhibit a distinctly Spanish colouring and caste of features. In the next chapter we will go and see them for ourselves.

¹ *Nan* (in Welsh *Nant*) means "valley." It appears in *Trenance*, the "valley town"; *Pennant*, the "vale head"; *Nancemellin*, the "valley of the mill"; in *Nantwich*, *Nancy*, *Nantes*, and compare Val. de Nant. *Words and Places*, p. 154.

² *Man* in Celtic means "district." Taylor (p. 153) connects with this root Maine, Mayenne, Mantes, La Mancha, Manchester, Menai Straits, Isle of Man, etc.

³ This is the name of a beach just beyond Portgishey, in Mevagissey parish. This name *looks* rather Cockney than Celtic.

⁴ The Spanish gallants burnt and destroyed the Church of Paul, near Penzance.

CHAPTER XV.

TO PENTEWAN AND MEVAGISSEY; TO PORTH- PEAN AND CHARLESTOWN.

BUT we have lingered long enough over the general features of the parish, and the reader is perhaps impatient to start on the road and see them for himself. Then let us set out on our first excursion.

And I recommend that this first walk or drive should be in the direction of Pentewan. A drive by preference, for the way is long and the hills are formidable. I regret that I cannot promise the visitor the unwonted experience of a Cornish "stage-van."¹ I do not know that he would want to repeat it²; still, it is the proper thing to do. The passengers are packed like herrings: I have often watched them straightening their stiffened limbs, as they emerged from this instrument of torture. It is said, too, that the van has its first, second, and third-class passengers, just like the railway, though all are crammed into the same close narrow chest. The first-class have the privilege of riding all the way: the second-class must get out and walk up the hills; the third get out and push! Still, the van had its virtues, one of which was economy. "I have travelled," says the author of *Cornwall, its Mines and Miners*, "in a two-horse van for fourteen miles for one shilling."

¹ They no longer run on the Pentewan road. In other directions this treat may be enjoyed: vans are still to be seen on market days in considerable numbers in our towns.

² A Frenchman, after a day's hunting—someone had given him a mount—is said to have asked whether the same man ever went out hunting twice!

"It is remarkable," he adds, "how the fares could be made remunerative." He might also have added that the economy of the ride becomes all the more conspicuous when you discover how long you are on the road. I daresay for that precious shilling he was squeezed and jolted, not to say "cabined and confined" for a good four or five hours. Anyhow, whatever you miss, you cannot have the van journey to Mevagissey; you must reconcile yourself to 'bus or break. Passing down South Street, I will not ask you to linger over the ornate Church Schools on the left, or the classic Chapel on the right. It is to nature that our parish owes its attractions, not to art and man's device; we are often reminded that "God the first garden made, and the first city Cain"; if any of our erections hereabouts are noticeable it is the huge wall on the left, because of its cost: Balbus has built one more wall. In the hollow to the right the drainage of the town was formerly collected in cess-pools, in connection with which a strange ceremony was at one time observed. It was called "the choosing of a Mayor"; what was done was to pick out the man who had been the hardest drinker, especially during the feast (it was on the Thursday in "Feasten week" that this took place), chair him as Mayor of the place, and then duck his Worship in the pond of sludge. Proceeding, you soon find yourself in a charming valley (Stockdale in 1824 described this road as "very pleasing"), fairly well-wooded, and watered by one of our streams that flow with milk and honey—those charged with clay strongly resemble the former; those from the mines might well be infused with the latter. This, the Vinnick, the St. Austell river, is of the former order. A mile from the town a road branches to the left; this leads to the little hamlet of Tregorrick,¹ and

¹ "Tregorrek tenement," together with "Seynt Austoll reddit," is mentioned as among the possessions of Warinus Lercedekene, *miles*, 9, Ric. II. And two years later, among the *Inquisiciones post Mortem*, a messuage and half an acre of land at Tregorreke,

a second road diverges, as you reach the bridge, to *Menagwins*, once the seat of the Scoble family (Thomas de Scobhull was Sheriff of Devon, 19 and 20, Edward I.), one of whom, Henry by name, was a considerable figure under the Commonwealth; he must have been a *persona grata* to the Protector, for he officiated, in his capacity of Magistrate, at the civil marriage of Cromwell's daughter, on Nov. 14th, 1657.¹ The Menagwins estate now belongs to the Carlyons of Tregrehan, to whom it

and five messuages and two acres at St. Austell are included in the *appreciatio* of the possessions of John Tregorret. In the *Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds* we find a grant of a messuage and two parts of an acre of land, Cornish, by Richard, son of Henry de Tregerrick. In 1380 one John Tregorrek, along with Robt. Tresilian, Roger Juyle and others, was appointed a Commissioner to inquire touching wrecks. It was mentioned as justifying a Commission that from some wrecks no one escaped alive, and all the wreckage was carried off by Cornishmen. There is also a mention of this place in the "Ministers' Accounts" (37 Hen. VI.—3 Jac I.—1605) relating to the Arundel estates in Cornwall. That powerful family—we often come across boundary stones incised with E (denoting Edgcombe) on the one side and A (for Arundel) on the other—had a deer park at Lanhadron in St. Ewe, and in 1581 Edward Hambly was reeve. Tregorrick was one of their smaller manors. Under "Nansladron" we find this entry—

"Reed. at Polgowth for toll at the 12th dish (a "dish" = 1 gallon) 5 feet, 2 quarts, and one half-quart of tin" (a "foot" of tin = 60 lbs).

Under "Tregorreck" this—

"Item. Received at Tregorreck for toll at the fourth foot, 2 foots of tin."

I may add here that in the Paper book of Bailiffs' accounts (from Nov. 1604 to Nov. 1605) for the Sale of Timber at Lanhadron, there are several references to Polgooth mine—among them is the receipt of £15 : 5 : 8 "for 21 oakes sold to the Capten of Polgooth Myne." *Vide*, presidential address of Mr. Jon. Rashleigh, *Journ. R. Instit. of Cornwall*, Part xviii., 256, *sqq.*

¹ Lysons says that Richard Scoble was "Clerk of the Parliament to Oliver Cromwell"; Henry was certainly Clerk to the *Council*. Francis Scoble, his kinsman, however took the Royal side, and suffered for it. The State papers of the Commonwealth show that Francis Scobell, of St. Austell, was accused before the Committee for Compounding (Aug. 26th, 1651) of being active against Parliament; he confessed that he was a constable in the late war; on Oct. 21st, the County Committee was directed to inquire for some act done by him as constable, in raising or levying money or in enforcing men; on March 30th, 1652, his discharge was to be drawn up, provided he had not been sequestered on Dec. 1st, 1650. However, he did not get his discharge, for on Dec. 9th, 1651, Fras. Scoble or Scobell, St. Austell, together with Thos. Grosse, of Burien, Thos. Tresilian, of St. Levan, and others, petitioned that the County Commissioners have seized their estates, they know not why. *All but Scoble* pleaded that they constantly obeyed Parliament throughout the late wars.

passed by marriage, having—a curious coincidence—formerly passed by marriage from the Carlyons to the Scobells. A William Carlyon (baptized 1575) lived at Menagwins. His son, Henry (baptized 1603), left the estate by will, dated 1684, to his daughter Barbara, who in 1660 had married Richard Scobell, of Polruddan. The Archdecknes are believed to have resided here before either Carlyons or Scobells; hence the arms of Archdeckne and Haccombe on our Bench ends now in the Church tower.¹ Crossing the “Iron bridge”—it is obviously constructed of stone, but there was once a bridge of iron here—we see on the right Moor Cottage, now the summer residence of the Coodes,² of Polapit Tamar, and once the home of the six families of that name who now occupy some of our largest houses. “Moor cottage,” like “Iron bridge,” is not exactly a case of *lucus a non lucendo*. No moors are found here any longer, but at one time all the valley was moorland. An antient cross, brought from Hewas some sixty years ago, now stands in the woods at the back of the house.³ Two lodges a little farther on mark the entrance to Trewhiddle, the abode of Mr. D. H. Shilson.⁴ A silver goblet or chalice-shaped cup, together with about 114 coins, silver pennies issued during the reigns of five of the Kings of Mercia, was found hereabouts on November 8th, 1774, during the process of streaming for tin.

¹ Page 140.

² Edward Coode and Wm. Paynter were “Agents for the Committee of Parliament for the Countie of Cornwall,” in 1646.

³ This is our only example of a Latin cross with head, shaft, and base complete. Total height, 6 ft. 8 in. Another similar unornamented cross may be seen in St. Ewe Church-town. Langdon, p. 424.

⁴ Drew remarks in his ponderous way that “Trewhiddle seems fitted up as a Temple for retirement.” When he wrote, it was in the occupation of Mr. Polkinghorne. Since that day it has been considerably enlarged, and the grounds especially have been greatly improved by Mr. Shilson. Mr. Drew was something of a Philistine. He speaks of Trevisick as “a genteel habitation,” and says there is “a genteel house” at Nansladron.

It is in connection with these operations that Mr. Colenso is believed to have lost his money. They are supposed to have been deposited here about A.D. 874-6. They were found some seventeen feet below the surface in a tenement which formed part of the manor of Trewhiddle. Along with them certain gold and silver ornaments were brought to light; among them a silver cord, supposed to have been a *disciplinarium*. The cup was, unfortunately, broken into several pieces. Davies Gilbert most unaccountably says, that "it has since been used for the sacramental wine at the Church." About 70 of the coins are now in the cabinet of Mr. Jon. Rashleigh of Menabilly: nearly all the ornaments, save two of gold, are in the collection of Captain Rogers of Penrose.¹

Half a mile lower down we reach the village of New Mill, better known as *London Apprentice*, so named after the modest public-house of the place, now converted into a post-office. Of the minute Methodist chapel that we pass on the right it has been humorously observed that when the preacher would go in, the congregation has to come out, so modest are its dimensions. On the opposite side of the valley stands the farm-house of *Molingey*—a former farm-house was literally washed away in a flood—where was once a chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin²; verily "the old order changeth, yielding place to

¹ An account of this find, by the late Mr. J. Jope Rogers, may be read in the *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, Part viii., pp. 292-5. Mr. Rogers argues that they must have been secreted about 874, that is, before the date of the Danish invasion. The Danish army was driven beyond Exeter by King Alfred in 877, and in the next year a Danish fleet of twenty-three ships threatened our S.W. coast. Twelve of these coins were long in the hands of the Rev. R. Hennah, Vicar of St. Austell, but they appear to have been lost. Five are at Penrose.

² According to Hitchins and Drew, Borlase in his MSS. says "There was a Chapel of St. Mary at *Mellinse* in St. Austell." The reference can only be to *Molingey*. At the date of this work—I mean Drew's Edition of Hitchins—"memorials of an ancient window were still to be seen, which appear to have belonged to a Chapel." In an adjoining garden, some foundations were discovered, as also a stone trough. *History*, p. 56.

new." But what a contrast between the old and the new chapels of this hamlet, the Romanist and the Revivalist!¹ Some bits of the antient masonry, portions of a window, are, I believe, incorporated into the modern house. At the post-office aforesaid a road to the right leads to Polgooth, the mine of which mention has several times been made (we will visit it another day), and presently a road to the left passes over a bridge to Towan, once the home of the Sawle family, now established at Penrice. At Towan is a wishing or baptismal well, not easy to find (the visitor had better inquire for it at the "town place"),² and on the uphill way thither we get what is perhaps the very best general view of St. Austell. Now, however, we must go straight on, and as we mount the hill, a lovely view spreads itself before us seawards. We also have a striking *coup d'œil* of the town from this point. The lands of "four lords" meet in the valley beyond us, Lord Mount Edgcumbe's, Sir Charles Brune Graves Sawle's, Mr. Tremayne's, and Mr. Thomas Graves Sawle's. The line of wood right in front of us, a mile away, is Heligan Drive; we come to the Heligan lower lodge,³ after passing Nansladron⁴—the word means "the

¹ Herbert of Melingey is mentioned (as doing no suit) in the survey of the Manor of Tewington, made at St. Austell, 1 Edw. III.

² The first farm-house has an antique, carved stone embedded in its side. Part of the date is discernible, but the rest has perished. The well is now dry, except in winter. A pedestal for a statue is found opposite the door. What Lysons observes of Menacuddle, that, whilst most wells are in ruins, this "remains pretty entire," may also be said of Towan. The building is in excellent preservation. The walls are about two feet thick. The length (within) is only six feet. On a line with the threshold is a socket in the wall, fitted to receive the end of a plank.

³ At this point Mevagissey parish begins, embracing all the land to our right. The farm-house, however, which stands to our right as we turn to enter Pentewan village, is in St. Austell, as also is Sconhoe, the house on the beach.

⁴ This place is mentioned in the Book of Escheats (15 Edw. II., p. 301, No. 49), in an account of the lands of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, and other rebels. Under Cornwall, there is mention *inter alia* of Bodrugan, Tywardraythe, the manor of Tewington, etc. This unfortunate nobleman, who was beheaded on March 22nd, 1322, for rebellion against

valley of robbers" (Cornish *læder*, = *latro*, gen. plur. *laddron*)—on our right. Heligan is the seat of Mr. John Tremayne,¹ formerly M.P. for East Cornwall, and the drive is remarkable not only for its length and the luxuriant Benthamias—here first naturalized in any number—and rhododendrons which garnish it, but also for the striking peeps of St. Austell town which it affords. The house is not particularly interesting²; it was built at a debased period of domestic architecture, but St. Ewe Church is worthy of a visit, if only because of its rood-screen, a fine piece of antient work.³ At Nunnery Hill, in St. Ewe parish, is a cross with an inscribed base. The letters are much abraded, but Mr. Iago believes it to read, ALSUE CURAVIT H' CRUCEM P' ANIMA SUA. This valley, or "bottom," as the Cornish unpoetically call their vales, is so level that the visitor may well imagine that he sees before him the bed of a primaeval lake. The fact is, that it has been "streamed for tin," even within living memory—the Pentewan stream-work was long one of the most interesting in the county; it was

his cousin Edward II., supplies a connecting link between this parish and my last charge, that of the Old Church of Pontefract. At Earlsmount in that parish he was overtaken and beheaded, hard by Pomfret Castle. In the Ministers' Accounts of 30 and 31 Edw. III., a certain "John of Nansladrun" appears as tenant of the "Mill of Porthmelyn." Nansladrun was occupied for a short time by Archbishop Temple, when Bishop of Exeter.

¹ A John Tremayn was placed on the Commission of the Peace for Cornwall, May 16th, 1378.

² "The present house was completed about 1809" (Gilbert). Murray (*Handbook*, p. 42) pronounces it "extremely ugly."

³ In St. Ewe Churchyard, as C. S. Gilbert (p. 853) informs us, the following inscription might formerly be read—

"Here lies the body of Joan Carthew,
Born at St. Mewan, died at St. Ewe;
Children had she five,
Three is dead and two's alive;
They that are dead choosin' rather
To die with mother than to live with father."

begun in 1780¹—and afterwards levelled. All the same, there is evidence that an arm of the sea formerly extended as far up as to Nansladron or even to 'Prentice. When the valley was excavated for mining purposes, a number of trunks of trees, together with the bones of some extinct animals, were brought to light—some were found about fifty feet below the present level of the sea at high water—and also traces of antient oyster-beds.² The site of this submerged forest is to be found just where the railway diverges from the river. The wood on the opposite side of the valley, which the said railway skirts, is known as the "King's Wood"—probably it was part of Earl Thomas's property which, on his attainder and execution, reverted to the King.³ I do not mean that the *name* goes back to the time of Edward II.; I suspect it is called the "King's Wood" because the Common-

¹ The work was done in instalments. A pit was made, streamed, and filled up with the *débris* of the next section. "The valley is a continuation of St. Austell moor, where, for ages, a great quantity of tin has been obtained by streaming. The quantity of tin ground opened at Pentewan has been 18,200 fathoms, and the average block tin got per sq. fathom, 186 lbs. The quantity of overburthen removed has been upwards of 200,000 tons." *Cornwall, its Mines, etc.*, p. 25.

² Hitchins and Drew have much to tell us about this stream work and the revelations it led to. It was first opened in 1780; in 1816 it was inundated by an extraordinary tide. They say that many trees were found in the layer of peat, from five to twelve feet below the surface. Of some, the stumps were standing as they grew; others were laid flat on their sides—some of these latter were three feet in diameter. In one place, some forty or fifty feet below the surface, six or seven stumps were discovered stretching across the valley and about six feet *below the oyster beds*, which in ages past must have been under the sea at high water. No mark of any sort of tool was visible on the broken stump. Large numbers of antlers of deer—Murray's *Handbook* says, "of the so-called Irish elk"—and horns of cattle were brought to light, and last, but not least interesting, two human skulls were found in the same marine stratum; that is to say, below both the soil and the subjacent peat. Worth concluded from these appearances that our tin mining goes back at least to B.C. 1000. A paper on the Phœnicians and their trade with Britain, by Mr. Reg. Stuart Poole, may be found in the *Journal of the R. Instit. of Cornwall*, Part iv. He thinks that two blocks of tin "discovered in a mine near St. Austell" point to Phœnician occupation. They are about the weight of an Attic talent, or a multiple thereof.

³ Tewington Wood, otherwise Fentengellan, appears among the possessions of Queen Elizabeth in the Ministers' Accounts, 39 and 40 Eliz.

wealth, just before the sale, had taken it over from the King.¹ A mile beyond Nansladron we are close to the Pentewan beach (a little strand hard by is called Porthtowan), which has been considerably enlarged by the sand formerly carried down by the stream from the clayworks.² Pentewan is mentioned—the receipt of sixpence “for the bede of the mill of Pentewyn by the year” is—in the Ministers’ Accounts of the Tewington Manor, begun 5 and 6 Edward II.³ The name borne by the common or waste which lies between us and the beach, “the Winnick,” preserves for us the name, now almost forgotten, of the river which here enters the sea. Not far from the farm-house on our right is, according to the Ordnance Map, the site of an antient Barton, or farm-manor (Barton=Barley-town). The road to the left, past the Board School, leads to Pentewan (“the headland of Towan”) village, but before visiting that miniature seaport, nestling comfortably at the foot of its hills (three valleys meet here), the tourist will do well to extend his walk (or drive) up the “Big Hill” opposite, to Mevagissey, two miles farther, than

¹ See p. 29.

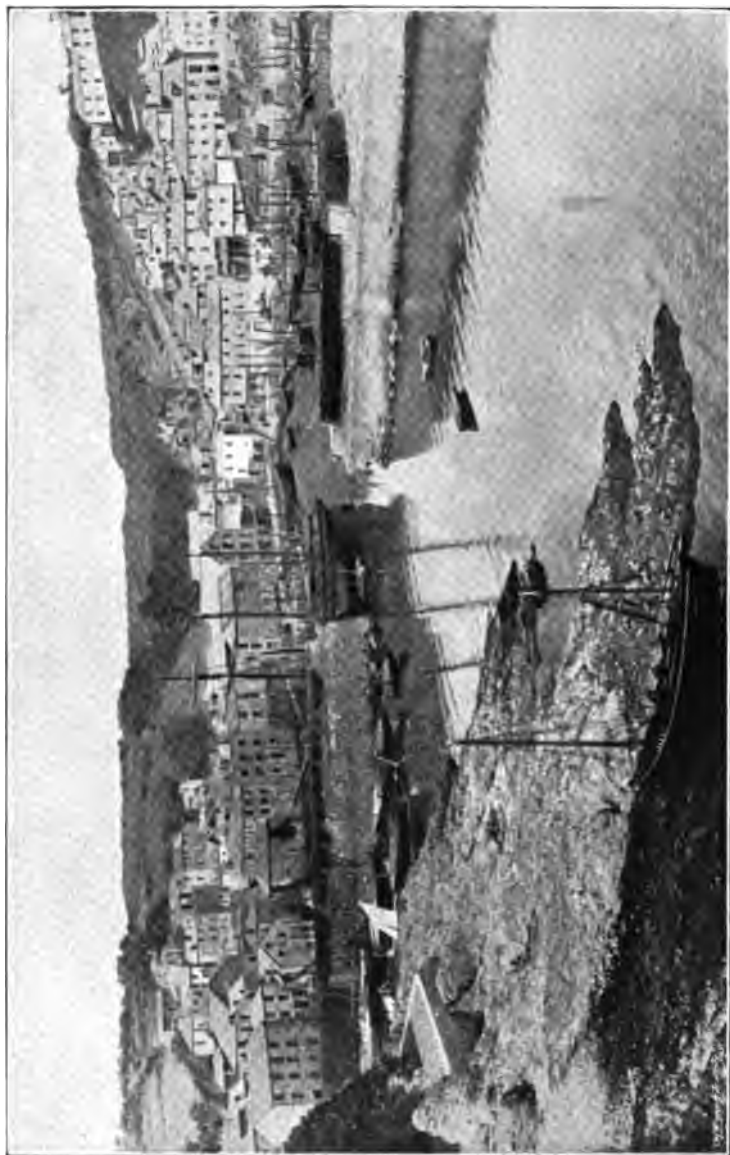
² Till within the last half-century the refuse sand, after the clay had been washed out of it, was for the most part precipitated into the river, with the natural result that the stream constantly became choked, and overflowed its banks, to the great detriment of the adjacent lands, and that, notwithstanding that a number of “river men” were kept at work to prevent a block. To put a stop to this Mr. Coode, of Moor Cottage, and Mr. Lakes threatened proceedings in Chancery; the matter was, however, compromised. In our Parish Records we find complaint made in 1852 that the sand had gradually accumulated and had practically dammed up or diverted the Pentewan river. It is there stated that formerly this sand was carried away by the winter floods, but of late the quantity had grown to be so enormous that the bed of the river was choked with it, and the outlet at the Pentewan beach had become obstructed, with the result just described. Mr. Carveth, who was employed to report on this nuisance, recommended (1) That sand be not thrown into the river from the clay works; (2) That the channel be narrowed and straightened; (3) That new banks be constructed. He estimated the cost at *not less* than £300; it would, I should think, have been more satisfactory if he could have stated the *maximum* outlay. However, these recommendations were carried out.

³ The same item appears in the accounts of subsequent years.

which the county contains few places more thoroughly Cornish and primitive.¹ It is supposed to derive its curious name from two saints, St. Mewan and St. Issey, who have separately impressed their names on other parishes.² It is a quaint spot and no mistake; you feel as if you had at last reached the end of all things. Justice compels me to add that, if it is bizarre and picturesque, it is hardly less smelly and insanitary. It is, as already remarked, a great fishing station, and the odour of fish which pervades the place has led some profane persons to call it "Fishagissey." In 1849 it was desolated by cholera, which wrought such ravages that for a time, until the plague abated, the inhabitants were lodged in tents, outside the town. Things are vastly better now, but (if I may speak and live) there is still room for improvement. The Mevagissey fishermen, fine fellows as they are, are extremely conservative in their ideas, some of which are most exemplary; nothing will induce them, for example, to fish on Sundays. In other respects I cannot commend them; they are profoundly indifferent to all sanitary improvements; indeed, they threatened not so long ago to convert an Irish officer of health into Irish bacon, if he meddled any further in their affairs. Sturdy independence characterizes the natives of this region, as a proverb which circulates amongst us testifies: "Like the Mevagissey volunteers; all officers and no privates." A story is told of their forefathers, which if *non vero*, is *ben trovato*. They say that during the wars of Napoleon, when that great commander talked of invading this country, a vessel went ashore near Mevagissey, and amid the flotsam and jetsam was a gibbering baboon. The good people of the place, not

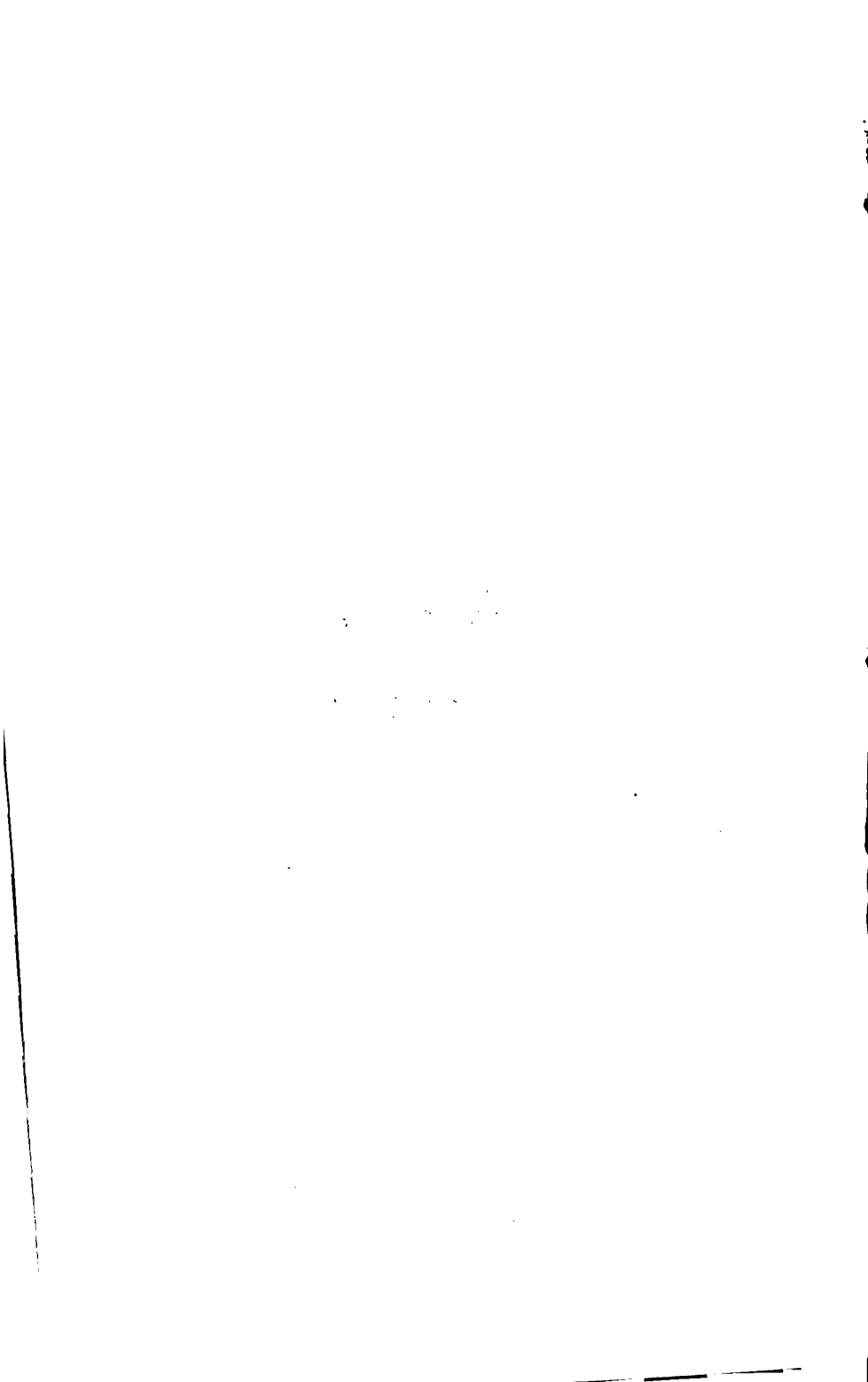
¹ The population of the parish was in 1801, according to Lysons, 2,052. It is now 2,200.

² St. Mewan we shall visit on another day; St. Issey lies between Wadebridge and Padstow. The same name is preserved in Tregonissey.



MEVAGISSEY.

From a Photograph by W. Orchard.



understanding the creature's strange chatter, incontinently set it down for a French spy, and dispatched a messenger in quest of the St. Austell constables to apprehend it. If this story bears marks of concoction, not so the following, which I give on the authority of a former Vicar. He had published the banns of marriage of John Trethewey and Jenefer Pascoe—I don't pretend to give the exact names—when a man rose up and forbade them. He was asked to see the Vicar in the vestry at the close of the service, which he did. "I understand," said Mr. C——, "that you forbid the banns." "Certingly I do," said the man; "I weant have it no ways." "May I ask your name?" said the clergyman. "My name," replied he, "is Jawn Trethewey." "John Trethewey!" said the parson, "why that is the name of the man whose banns were called." "Yes, I'm the man," replied he; "*she* went and put un in, and I béant a gawn to stand it." There is one sight of Mevaggissey which it is worth going a long way to view, namely, the fishing fleet putting out to sea. When the afternoon sun gilds and glorifies the tiny craft and the basin and the cliffs, and as vessel follows vessel in swift succession out of the harbour, the spectacle is one to kindle "thoughts that do lie too deep for tears." A large portion of the new pier, built in 1887, mainly through the generosity of Mr. John Charles Williams, of Carhayes Castle, was swept away by the furious blizzard of March 9th, 1891. The Church has been carefully and successfully restored (in 1886-7) by Mr. St. Aubyn; it was a truly woeful spectacle before this was done. It had no tower (Stockdale said in 1824 that it had fallen down a few years before) and no bells; the Mevaggissey folk are jestingly said to have sold their bells to pay for pulling down their tower.¹

¹ "Ye men of Porthilly [Mevaggissey], Why were ye so silly,
As Gorran men tell, To sell every bell
For money to pull down your tower."

But that is a common form of pleasantry in this county. Of a like order is the following, mentioned by Miss Courtney—"A person making an incredible statement is told to go to Towednack Quay head, where they christen calves": no part of this parish touches the sea.¹ A chalybeate well here, known as the "Brass Well," was once in great repute. Polwhele tells us that "John Wise, of Totnes, Esquire, butler to Mrs. Sawle, of Penrice, was cured of Scurvy" by drinking of this gifted well.

Returning to Pentewan, which, together with its port and railway, finished in 1832, is the property of Mr. C. H. H. Hawkins, of Trewithen, we breast the hill at the North end of the village. Let us glance for a moment as we pass at the pretty Terrace—half-a-dozen houses with an Italian-looking verandah—and the Church at the end of it: this Church looks as if it had been meant to occupy the *middle* of the terrace, but the other half yet remains to be built.² Then we pursue the road, up a break-neck hill,³ to Trenarren, the property of Lieut.-Col. Hext. You turn to the right at a lone and gloomy-looking house, called Lobb's shop. Trenarren house commands a charming view down the combe towards the sea; the illustration will give the reader some idea of it. Unfortunately, the

¹ *Cornish Feasts*, etc., p. 68.

² The Church is Mr. Hawkins's private property. I am afraid I cannot pretend that it has much hold on the Pentewan people; it was closed for many years and used as a carpenter's shop and general storehouse. Though this place, since the Church was re-opened, has been served by a succession of excellent curates, all of whom have won the respect of the inhabitants, yet there are those who say they "would rather bury their children than see them go to Church," which is not exactly a commendable sentiment for one Christian to cherish towards another. Such bigotry, however, is dying out.

³ The cottage seen across the valley to the left bears the name of the valley, Glentowan; Polruddan lies concealed to our right; the quarry is close to the sea; in fact, in the cliffs. "The best known elvan is that of Pentewan. . . . There are very few Churches, except in the far West, in which we may not find either Pentewan, Catacleuse, Polyphant, or St. Stephen's stone. Throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries Pentewan was most in request." Worth, *Journal*, xvii., 215.

right slope is not wooded ; otherwise the view would be perfect. Below the grounds may be found the site of an antient Manor house. The highest cliff in this neighbourhood bears the name of "The Van."¹ The Trenarren lands belonged of old to the Priory of Tywardreath, down to the dissolution of the monasteries ; they were given to this religious house in the time of Richard I. by Robert de Cardinham. The



TRENARREN.

From a Photograph by B. Julian.

visitor may either descend to the beach at Rope Hawn (Haven), or may go over the Ledrah to the Black Head, where two young girls who were bathing were drowned in 1884, or down the lane to Halleyrn or Hallane Mill, which place has also been pronounced to be "the end of all things." Perhaps the visit to the Black Head hardly repays the fatigue of getting

¹ "Near Pentewan, in the parish of St. Austell, is an oval camp, called 'The Van,' and another near Penrice, in the same parish, called 'Castle Gothia.'" Lysons.

to it, though on it are traces of an old-world camp or entrenchment; they are very plentiful in this county, and along this coast. Beyond Trenarren lies Trevisick—we read of a Robert Trevysek, *temp.* Edw. III.—once the seat of the Moyle family,¹ which figures so largely in our annals, but now the property of Mrs. Gully Bennett, of Tresilian, to whom it passed through the Slades. Returning to the main road (there is a footpath across the fields which cuts off a considerable corner; it also



PENRICE.

From a Photograph by B. Julian.

crosses the antient entrenchment from which the place derives its name of *Castle Gotha*²: can the word Gotha, I wonder, be a survival from the Goths or Jutes who once swept along our South

¹ A Moyle or Moil—the name also appears as Molle and Mule—is mentioned as early as 7 Edw. III. John Moile joined in a memorial addressed to the Duchy in 1633. David Moyle was one of the conventionary tenants under the Commonwealth in 1650. One of our Church flagons comes from this family.

² Roger de Castelgoithan was reeve of the manor of Tewington, 15 Edward III. Mathew Kestelgovan is mentioned in the accounts of Thos. de la Hide, 25 Edw. I., and "Amicia Mathew de Kestelgothan" in the survey of the Manor made *temp.* Edw. III.

coast? There is also a delightful path along the cliffs past Gotha farm to Porthpean) we make for the hamlet just named. On our left lies the deer park of Penrice, and half a mile farther on we come on the gate at the beginning of the drive. Penrice itself is a good mile from the gate, and is a dignified and good-looking house, and very snugly placed, but in such a hollow and so surrounded by woods that the family could not view the comet which visited us a few years ago without driving a mile or more to get free of them. It contains some portraits of the Graves family—the admirals. Before the Sawles resided here, the place was occupied by the family of Cosgarne.¹ The Sawles, who died out in 1803,² go back to remote antiquity; Hals reports that one "Sauley" came over with the Conqueror³—but

¹ The premises, like many more in Cornwall, are much infested by rats; Sir Charles tells me that on an average they kill one every day. I should not suppose, however, that this would interest the reader, but that Carew remarked long ago on the prevalence of rats in Cornish houses, and it is curious to find this plague in undiminished force at the present day.

² Page 149.

³ "Originally, the first ancestor of the family came out of Normandy, a soldier under William the Conqueror, in 1066. Beyond the records of time, at Towan in this parish and elsewhere in Devon, this family or tribe hath been extant in fame and splendour as the descendants of that Sauley or Sawle mentioned in Battle Abbey Roll." Hals's glowing account was probably coloured by partiality for "my very kind friend, Joseph Sawle, Esq., that married Trevannion." But we do find Sawles or Sawells in the Tavistock records as far back as 1476. Richard Sawell was warden there in 1573. The name of Nicholas Sawell, gent., appears in a petition addressed to Charles I. by the principal men of the county in 1642. Oliver Sawle or Sawell is mentioned among the "conventionary tenants" of the Duchy at Towan in 1633, and again in the time of the Commonwealth, and in 1650 he bought from the Commissioners some 16 acres of wood at £3 per acre. He also held lands in socage at St. Austell, Tewyn, Towyn, and "Carwarth," but this is but the second mention of the family which I have so far found in our histories. (Nich. Sawle, *armiger*, is mentioned in a patent of 4 Carol. I., as holding vi acres in Treverbyn-Courtney.) That it is descended from a Norman soldier of the name of Sauley may perhaps be doubted. At the time of the Conquest, and indeed much later, surnames such as this were quite unknown—a man bore only his Christian name, and possibly his place of residence, as Roger de Hoveden, Robert de Cardinham, etc. It may be said, indeed, that Sauley was a baptismal name, but if so it would not descend to the son. Saul's son might be named Simon, or anything else. Lysons (p. cxlix.) includes the Sawles of Penrice and Levrean in his list of extinct families. Major Sawle,

they do not date *quite* so far back as some of our young people have supposed. A lady in one of our Sunday Schools asked a boy in her class "who was the first King of Israel?" As he did not know, she presently informed him that it was King Saul. "What, Sir Charles!" said the youth, in open-eyed astonishment. Sir Charles and Lady Graves Sawle celebrated their "golden wedding" on Feb. 18th, 1896, amid the hearty congratulations and warm good wishes of a large concourse of friends.

Porthpean—take the first turn to the right after passing Penrice gate—possesses a beautiful little Church, built in 1884 by Sir Charles and Lady Sawle. It was dedicated by Bishop Wilkinson, now of St. Andrew's, the then Bishop of Truro, on St. Levan's Day, October 15th, in the name of St. Levan.¹ The legend over the narthex, or porch, "JESUS came to them, walking on the sea," was suggested by Archbishop Benson; the text over the altar by Bishop Wilkinson. There is a tablet to the memory of "Etha, wife of Lieut.-Col. Graves Sawle." A portion of ground at the East end has been consecrated as a burial place for the Sawle family, and its exquisite position, overlooking the peaceful bay, might have suggested the lines—

who often appears in our old account book, is said to have been aide-de-camp to the great Duke of Marlborough. There is an inscription on a slate tablet in St. Winnow Church, which is believed to refer to one of the members of this family; anyhow it is well worth recording, for the admirable anagram which it embalms. It runs—

" William Saule.

Annagr.

I was ill; am well

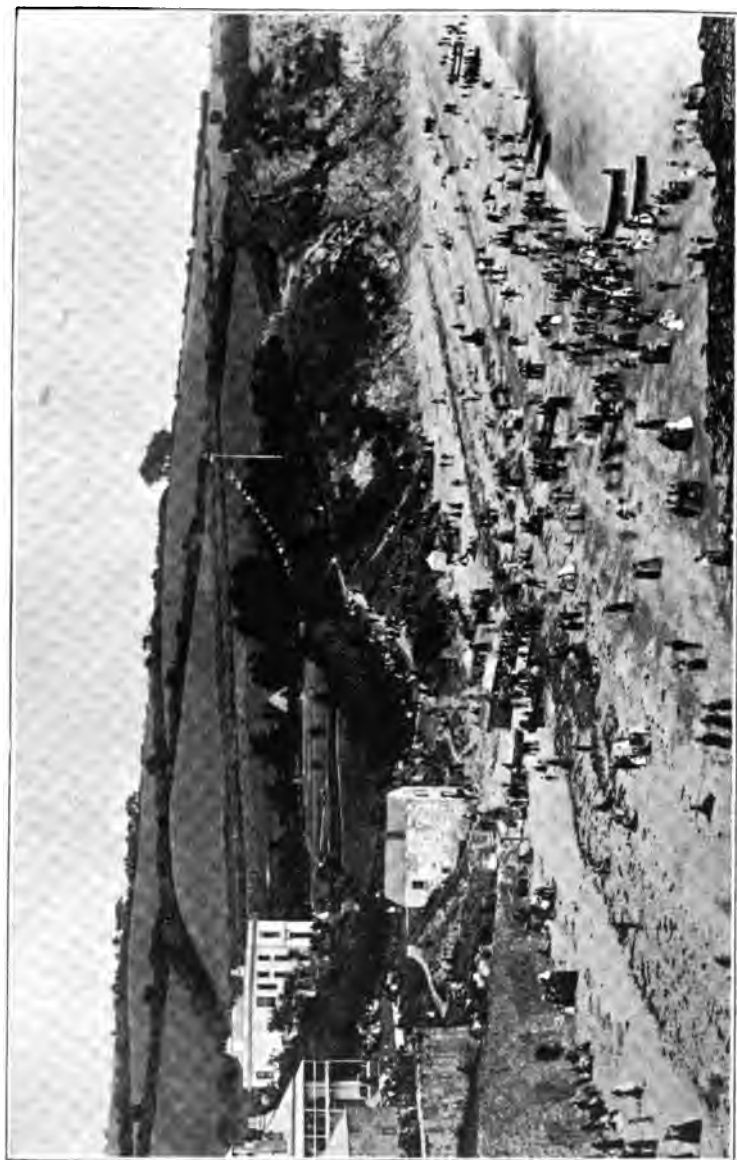
When I was sick, most men did deeme me ill;

If I had lived, I should have been soe still;

Prais'd be the Lord that in the Heav'ns doth dwell,

Who hath received my soule; now I Am Wel."

¹ It was a curious coincidence, this. The name had been chosen, and the date fixed, when the service had to be postponed. It was then fixed, by hazard, for St. Levan's Day.



PORTHPEAN.

From a Photograph by W. Orchard.

"Lay me under the grass
As it slopes to the South and the sea,
Where the living I love may pass,
And passing may think of me."

The architect of the Church was Mr. Reeve. The School was built by Sir Joseph Graves Sawle. The house near the shore (the tourist should go down the leafy lane on the South side of the Church to the beach) is the summer residence



ST. LEVAN'S CHURCH, PORTHPEAN.

From a Photo by W. Orchard.

of Mrs. Petherick ; it is conspicuous in the picture.¹ Hard by is a comfortable little hotel and boarding-house, well spoken of by visitors, *The Glen*, in a very sunny and sheltered spot. I give them this advertisement out of pure goodwill. Porthpean, like the rest of the coast, was much addicted to smuggling—

¹ This photograph was taken on the occasion of the Regatta. The studious visitor need not fear a crowd ; he will often have the shore to himself.

many is the lugger (it is said) that has been run ashore here. The contraband goods would be carried away inland by mules, over whose track a drove of sheep would be driven to obliterate their footprints. From the beach a footpath along the cliffs brings us back to the high road in ten or twelve minutes, or we may keep the cliffs all the way to Charlestown, a walk not to be despised. But at this point we have a great choice of routes, I might almost say an *embarras de richesses*. We may take the cliff walk just mentioned, or on regaining the highway we may cross it and follow a very countrified lane, which will afford us many pleasing views before we reach St. Austell, or we may stick to the high road as far as Duporth lodge—Duporth¹ is the property of Mrs. Henry Hodge, and is aptly described in Murray's *Handbook* (p. 42) as a "little paradise"; the view from the terrace above the house is reproduced on p. 267²—and then make for Charlestown dock and beach by

¹ In the Survey of 1 Edw. III., so often referred to, we read that "Simon de *Deuporth* holds three parts of a ferling of land," for which he rendered annually 7s. 8d. And there is a curious entry in the Ministers' Accounts, 20 and 21 Edw. III.: "For the way of the sea at *Deuporth* nothing" was received, "because the carriers of sand cannot use the same way on account of the violence of the sea." But the receiver accounts for 4s., the price of one sea-hog, taken in the port of Tewyn.

² Duporth, once the residence of Mr. Chas. Rashleigh, and subsequently of Dr. Pattison and of Mr. George Freeth, cannot exactly pretend to be haunted, but it claims to have something uncanny about it. The present occupants affirm that often, when sitting at dinner, they hear the *striking of a match* in the adjoining hall, so sharp and clear, that they have rushed out, persuaded that somebody *must* be there, but only to find nothing. They are also favoured, almost nightly, at ten o'clock, with a double click from a cabinet in the drawing-room. Some show of justification for these ghostly noises may perhaps be found in a curious circumstance attending a sale of this property. It was put up for auction at the *White Hart*, in St. Austell, and was knocked down to a stranger, who, however, paid the deposit—a substantial sum—and signed the contract. But from that day forth he was never heard of. It was supposed that a man convicted of murder, and who was subsequently executed, was this unknown purchaser, and someone who had been at the sale went up to identify him, but (owing, it is believed, to the shaven crown and the prison dress) failed to do so; at least, he could not swear to him. When Mr. Freeth, one of the solicitors to the Duchy, bought the property, he had it for so much less, because of a condition in the conveyance that if the missing purchaser appeared, he (Mr. Freeth) should re-convey it. I am indebted for this information to Mr. Edmund Carlyon.

the shady road to the right ; that to the left leads to Tregorrick ; a footpath which begins some hundred yards on the right of this road represents the shortest way to St. Austell ; or we may go straight ahead towards Mount Charles. The only recommendation of the route last named is that it leads past *The Longstone*, a rude obelisk, twelve feet high, by some called *Tregeagle's Walking-stick*. The legend is that the giant,



THE LONGSTONE.

From a Sketch by the Author.

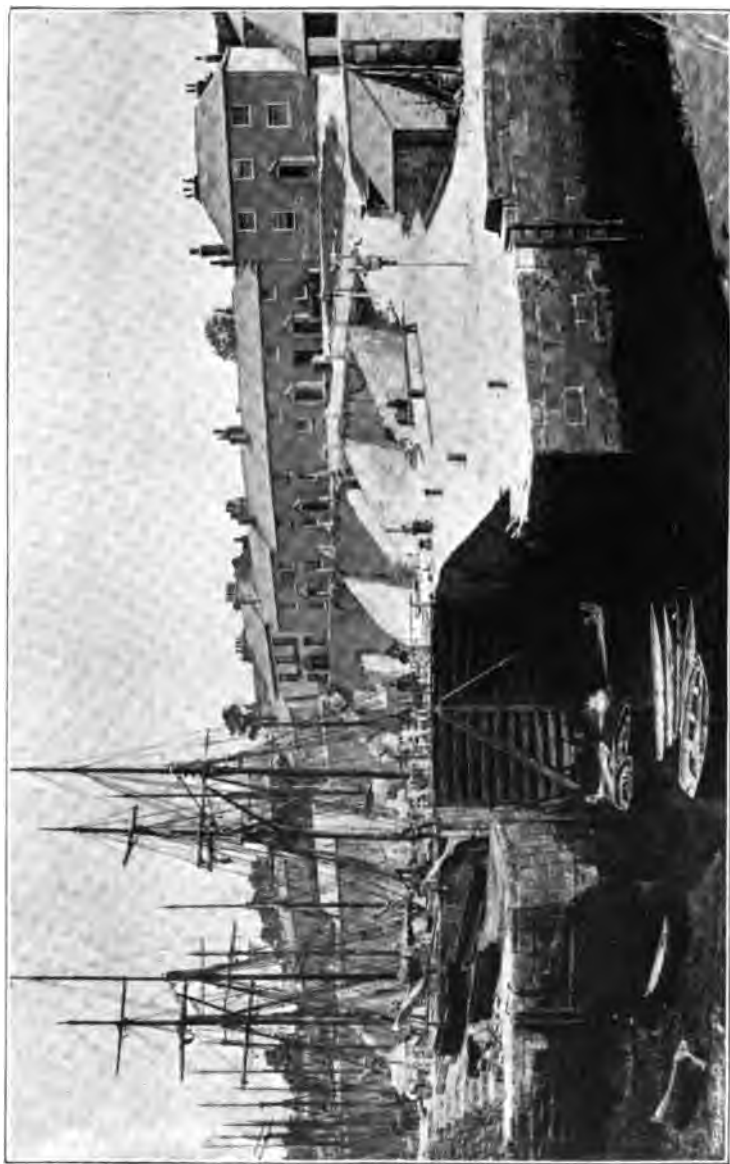
his hat being blown away by the wind, started in pursuit of it, but planted his huge walking-staff in the ground, as it interfered with his pace. He is said to have wandered about for long in the dark, and then to have given up the search. Next morning, the natives discovered his staff and hat—this latter a stone something like a millstone, which formerly stood on White Horse Down, but which in 1798 was rolled over the

cliff into the sea by some soldiers encamped in the neighbourhood, who—I cannot call it *sancta simplicitas*—held it responsible for the long spell of wet weather which they were then enduring.¹ The Longstone is supposed to be really a landmark; possibly it indicates the site of a battle or burial. A barrow—"One Barrow" it was called²—was opened in this neighbourhood (Gwallon Downs³) in 1805, and was found to contain a sepulchral urn. Otherwise, apart from the legend, this road is uninteresting, and I recommend that to the right, which is shady and pretty, and lands us near Charlestown beach. The old name of this place was Polmear; it was called Charlestown after Mr. Charles Rashleigh, who developed its resources as a seaport. In 1790 it contained but nine persons. The pier was begun in 1791, and was enlarged the year following. About 1800 Mr. Rashleigh was resident at Duporth, and a curious story is connected with his name. He took into his employ a lad named Dingle, for whom he conceived a great liking and at last determined to bring him up as a gentleman. To this end he must make him a magistrate—I believe he was to be a

¹ See Courtney, *Cornish Feasts and Folklore*, p. 59, 60. Borlase, however (*Age of the Saints*, p. 95), says this stone "marked the spot where the devil perpetrated a silly trick upon a saint who was belated." Tregeagle, pronounced Tregaygle by the common folk, is our Cornish Bluebeard. He is accused of having married many heiresses for the sake of their money, whom he afterwards murdered. Now his voice may be heard on dirty nights above the howling of the storm, and he is condemned for his sins to empty Dosmery Pool, near Bolventor, with a tiny cockleshell. It need hardly be said that he gets "no forrarder."

² Mr. W. C. Borlase (*Naenia Cornubiae*, p. 152) suggests that "one" is probably a corruption of *gwyn*, i.e., "white." He cites Whitaker's account, which merely informs us that the workmen found a great variety of stones, all undressed, forming a square enclosure, which contained a multitude of bones, none of them above seven inches long, and then adds that the *Kist vean* was rebuilt in a hedge, and the bones replaced therein.

³ There is frequent mention of Wallen in the old records. In the 29th year of Edw. I. the pasture of Wellan was worth by the year 22s. 11d. It is added, "There are certain wastes in Wellan which are worth by the year 61s." From the Ministers' Accounts, 15 and 16 Edw. III., we learn that "the land of Wallen contained 160 acres." In those of 26 Edw. I. we hear of 46 acres of waste in Wallen.



CHARLESTOWN.

From a Photograph by W. Orchard.

D.L.—for which the possession of a certain amount of property was then, as now for the most part, a necessary qualification. The young man had not a brass farthing of his own, so his patron, in order to qualify him, conveyed to him the Charlestown, or some other estate. Then was illustrated once more the old adage, “Set a beggar on horseback,” etc. This enterprising youth, finding that the property was, as he thought, legally his, resolved to stick to it, to Mr. Rashleigh’s dismay and distress, and stick to it he did. The case was heard in London about 1813—numbers of our people went up as witnesses¹—and adjudged in Mr. Rashleigh’s favour, but the costs were so considerable that they seriously crippled him, and he had to part with the property which bore and still bears his name. Dingle is still remembered amongst us; he died in a small house at Trevarrick, since pulled down; one informant tells me that he believes he was in receipt of parish pay. He was a connection of the Geaches, who are commemorated in our Church.²

Charlestown is now, for the most part, the property of Messrs. Crowder and Sartoris, who maintain a paternal oversight over its welfare, sternly forbidding overcrowding, and encouraging industry and thrift. As we mount the hill, on our way home, we may glance for a moment at the Church, which, alas, has never been wholly paid for; some say that is why it has not prospered more. It is a melancholy story, but it can do no good to repeat it here. The district was carved out of St. Austell parish in 1846; the Church built in 1851; the Rev. C. S. Woolcock was its first incumbent.³ The road to St. Austell

¹ See p. 33. I have experienced great difficulty in getting at the truth as to this transaction; I can only hope that I have reached it. I am not sure that there was a *trial*.

² Pages 121, 143.

³ He was succeeded in 1860 by the Rev. G. Lambe, M.A. (see p. 143). Mr. Lambe was followed in 1869 by the Rev. A. H. Ferris, M.A., now Vicar of Gwennap. The present Vicar (appointed in 1894) is the Rev. A. P. Willway, B.A., formerly Assistant Curate of St. Austell.

is an untidy one, despite the large sums expended on it : it could not well be otherwise whilst the clay waggons are so heavily weighted. But we cannot have our pudding and eat it, even in Cornwall, and the *dulce* must sometimes give place to the *utile*. The School on our left, standing back from the road, is that already referred to as the first Board School opened in England. The visitor will observe with regret the higgledy-piggledy way in which the new houses are built, fronting all ways. A little uniformity would have increased their value.

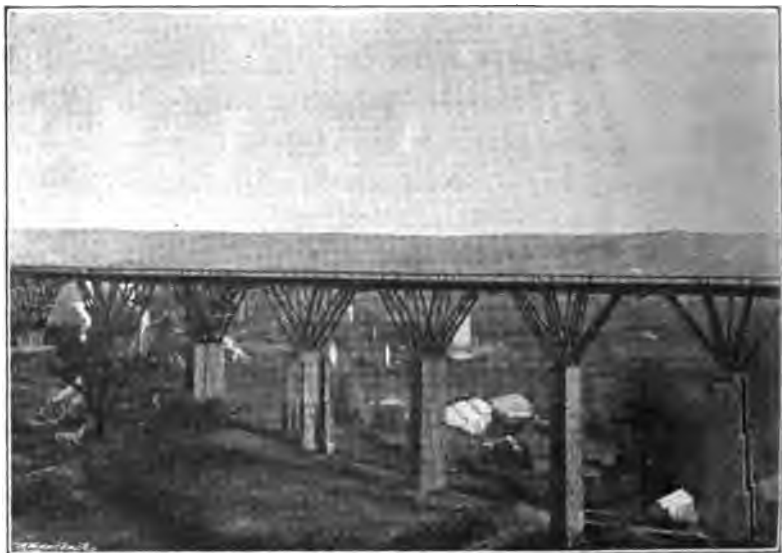
CHAPTER XVI.

TO ROCHE AND ITS ROCK.

FOR a second excursion, let us take the Bodmin Road, making Roche our *terminus ad quem*. This Bodmin Road was constructed in 1835; at least the parish in that year contributed £200 towards its cost. The old road to Roche passes through Trenance, the hamlet which lies on our left, in the valley, as we leave the town. The rock is six miles distant, so the tourist may think it prudent to drive. The first object which arrests the attention *en route* is the huge "spider" bridge, one of the many wooden bridges which have earned for the Cornwall Railway the name of "a line on stilts," and of which I am able to give an illustration. Alas! by the time this excellent work is in the hands of the reader it may be dismantled, and only the piers left to show where it stood. If this is not so, I will ask the traveller to observe that each separate beam bears branded on it the date of its insertion. It is generally supposed that these wooden bridges are precarious, and there have been people who would not take the railway journey through Cornwall because of their supposed insecurity. I believe that they are really safer than iron structures.¹ One thing is certain, that if there is any weakness or decay, it is open to the light of day and is detected at once,

¹ This is true of the beams, but some of the stone piers are said to be shaky. One in the Gover Valley (so one of the engineers assures me) moves when a train passes over it.

whereas iron girders may rust away unseen. The curve in the structure is said to add to its stability, just as a curved piece of paper will stand when a straight one falls. The new piers are constructed of Dartmoor stone. A few yards farther on, a road to the right leads past "Carlyon's Farm" to the Menacuddle Road, and thence to the "Look Out," a walk which anyone who has the time should take, because of the pleasing



ST. AUSTELL SPIDER BRIDGE.

From a Photograph by Mr. G. Inskip.

views which it affords. This side of the valley was once as well wooded as the opposite side happily is still, thanks to the forethought of Mr. Chas. Rashleigh, who planted these trees a century ago. The timber was cut down by Sir Joseph Sawle, who wanted to have more arable land or pasture. A relic of this wood remains near Menacuddle Farm. Fifty years ago this farmhouse was an antique building with a groined roof, but so low that you could hardly stand upright therein, and so

ruinous that Sir Charles was compelled to rebuild it. The house on the opposite slope is known as "The Brake"; it is the residence of Mr. Walter Hicks, and is a conspicuous object from the railway bridge as the train passes over it. Two seafaring men were one day heard to observe that "a chap with that place and *three or fower pounds* a week could make hisself very comfortable"! The road to the



THE BRAKE, ST. AUSTELL.

From a Photograph by Mr. D. O. Roberts.

left, which presently descends into the "bottom," is the approach to the Brake,¹ and it also leads to the Menacuddle Well or Baptistery—one of the many "wishing wells" of the county, which Christianity attempted to consecrate to nobler uses. A little Gothic building, with a groined roof, nine feet

¹ In the Brake Woods is a curious stone, known in the neighbourhood as King Arthur's Seat.

long and six feet five inches wide, has been reared over it¹; "a piece of antientry," they call it hereabouts.² Its situation is certainly romantic—"it lies in a vale at the foot of Menacuddle Grove, surrounded with romantic scenery,"³ says Mr. Hope, who adds (after Drew, p. 158) that "weak children have frequently been carried here to be bathed; ulcers have also been washed in the sacred water"—which is not pleasant



MENACUDDLE WELL.

From a Photograph by Mr. R. Barnes.

¹ The Celtic Church took under its protection the heathen "wishing wells," and they became "Holy Wells, working wondrous cures." *Court Guide to Cornwall*, p. 294.

² It is figured in Mr. Hope's *Legendary Lore of the Holy Wells of England*, p. 21; also in Miss Courtney's *Cornish Feasts*, etc., p. 19; in Blight's *Ancient Crosses*, etc., p. 94; in the *Ancient and Holy Wells of Cornwall*, p. 158. Hope explains Menacuddle to mean *The Hawk's Stone* (*maen a coedl*), and says the water of this well is remarkably pure.

³ An old drawing of the place shews a little lake skirting the Baptistery; this involved an artificial waterfall, which would appear to have been much admired, as C. S. Gilbert in his *Survey of Cornwall* gives us a view of it; it is also mentioned by Stockdale, p. 49.

reading for those who have thought it their duty to drink here. "People in seasons of sickness have been recommended by neighbouring matrons to drink of the salubrious fluid"—so writes Drew. But it is not only or principally for its curative properties that this "gifted well" is esteemed. It is primarily a *wishing* well—hence it is sometimes called *pinni-menny*.¹ Hard by this well, the Menacuddle Chapel² is believed to have stood. Whitaker is positive—he always is cocksure about everything—that the hermit Austolus took up his residence not far from this fountain, which (he says) in his day was still called St. Austell well, though a good way from the town. The hermit's cell, however (he proceeds to inform us), was probably in the town itself, was modelled into a chapel after his death, and magnified into a parish church at last. As to which one feels inclined to cry, *C'est magnifique, mais ce n'est pas l'histoire*. The proper thing to do is to throw a pin into the well, and to wish (*menny*) at the same time. Strictly speaking, it would appear to be a place for wishing *ill* to others, as the pin, according to some authorities, represents a miniature dagger, a sign of injury to the person "ill-wished" (or "overlooked," as they phrase it hereabouts). We have our superstitions, as everybody knows, in this county, and the evil eye is one of them; people often complain that they have been ill-wished. The writer's little daughter, when a child of seven, has been denied admission into a house at Pentewan, because of her alleged "evil eye"—an appalling instance of juvenile depravity! It is curious how deeply rooted these beliefs are in this Methodist county. The very people who would cry out if this well were used, as of yore, for Christ's sacrament of

¹ Miss Courtney (p. 19) says that "pinnamenny" is Cornish for "heads and tails"—*pedna a maen*.

² See p. 23.

Baptism, are left to use it for charms and spells.¹ It reminds one of that philosophic German who passed from atheism to spiritualism, and of whom a friend affirmed that "he would now believe anything, so long as it wasn't in the Bible!"

Pursuing our course along the highway, we pass many clay-works and "dries," and though there is nothing very remarkable, nothing to linger over, yet there are many beautiful bits of scenery and objects of interest which those who are content to take their happiness in little slices will by no means scorn. For example, I think our granite gateposts are worthy of notice. A careful observation will show how the granite was split up to serve this purpose: a series of holes are drilled into it; these are filled with water, after which the rock splits with the greatest readiness. But this by the way. We pass "Providence"—so named after its chapel; then Carthew, and presently reach Treverbyn, where away to the right stands a Church, one of Mr. Street's earlier efforts. The district was formed in 1847, and the Church was erected in 1850. There was antiently a Chapel here, with a burying place—"of public use," according to Hals, before the Church of St. Austell was erected.² But it will repay us better, instead of pressing on to Treverbyn, to turn aside to Roche: a finger post directs us where to diverge from the high road. This branch road leads past mighty clay works; the road has been diverted two or

¹ In the parish of St. Cleer is a holy well formerly used for *bousseining*, i.e., ducking mad people. If it did not restore them on a first application, they were ducked again until it did—or until they died or were half-dead with fright and hydropathy. The water of St. JESUS well at Miniver is celebrated for the cure of whooping cough (Courtney). The "well of St. Keyne," thanks to Southey's verse, is famed far and wide for its special virtue in establishing the conjugal supremacy of the husband or wife who first partakes of it after marriage. Sad to record, it is now run dry! When the author had recourse to it, it would not yield a drop!

² The Manor of Treverbyn, on the attainder of the Marquis of Exeter, reverted to the Crown, and was annexed (in 1540) to the Duchy. It is now held by Messrs. Ivimey and Gill.

three times to make way for their encroachments ; then past "Vinegar Point"—those who have passed it on a wild winter night will know why it is so called, and presently Roche, or the rock whence it takes its name, rises before us. The rock is a spur projecting from the granite, is of schorl mingled with quartz ; St. Mewan Beacon is of similar formation. The rock is 100 feet high,¹ 680 feet above the sea. On its summit stand



ROCHE ROCK AND HERMITAGE.

From a Photograph by Mr. Alan Coode.

the ruins of a cell and chapel once occupied or used, it is believed, by a hermit.² It consists of two rooms, one above

¹ Walcott, *Guide to the South Coast of England*, p. 512. He says that the peasantry believe that Tregeagle, whose quoits may be seen near Penare Head, and his staff on St. Austell Downs, flies hither across Bodmin Moor.

² It is amusing to learn from Lipscomb (*Journey into Cornwall*, p. 271) that this cell was either a *lighthouse* or a *place of security*! "Another idea," he gravely adds, "has been started, however, on this subject, viz., that it was one of the places of rendezvous for the miners, when they assembled to fix the price of tin." Polwhele (p. 66) says that this hermitage was one of the earliest in Cornwall.

the other ; the lower measures twelve feet by nine, and has a window at the East end. Steps cut in the rock lead from the chapel to the hermitage. It was dedicated to St. Michael ; Roche Church is dedicated under the name of St. Conant.¹ The tradition is that the first and perhaps the only occupant of the cell was a leper, Gonnett or Gundred by name, who was shut up in this cell for years,² being ministered to by his daughter, who daily brought him water from the well below, which is still called St. Gonnett's well. Roche has been held to be a corruption of *Treroach*, just as Goss-moor is short for Tregoss, but I think this questionable. It is also said that the village was once the seat of the Tregorrick family ("Garrack" = rock), otherwise known as the *De Rupes*.³ The well just mentioned is a crevice or hole in the rock below, six inches in diameter and twelve inches deep⁴ : it contains a little water, which the natives stoutly affirm rises and falls with the tide, in confirmation of which phenomenon they bid you observe that the liquid has a distinctly salt taste. A former rector, however, warned me against building on such evidence, stating that he had repeatedly seen the village lads—but it

¹ The founding of a Church or Chapelry, as required by the Celtic Church, was a simple matter, the missionary having to reside on the spot, and fast and pray for forty days, after which the Church was consecrated, and, no doubt, was called by his name. *Court Guide*, p. 294.

² Polwhele (p. 96) says that the tradition is that he shut himself up to avoid infecting others. Blight, in his *Week at the Land's End*, p. 121, quotes these lines (by Hawker of Morwenstowe) about our hermitages and oratories—

" They had their lodges in the wilderness,
Or built them cells beside the shadowy sea,
And there they dwelt with angels—like a dream ;
So they unclosed the volume of the Book,
And filled the fields of the Evangelist
With thoughts as sweet as flowers."

³ A Ralph de Rupe is mentioned in the Returns to the Commission of Inquest,

² Edward I. (1273). And the parish is called " de Rupe " and sometimes " de la Roche " in the early Registers.

⁴ Quiller Couch, p. 195.

is unnecessary to pursue this subject farther.¹ Roche also contains a wishing well, near a group of cottages, to which it has given the name of Holy Well, over a mile away from the rock, formerly much frequented by maidens each Ascension Day—many wells must be visited on a Thursday—before sunrise. The rites were very simple : they merely threw in crooked pins, and wished : possibly the pins were only meant to “grapple” their lovers “to their hearts with hooks of steel.” The Church is not striking ; it *was* of striking plainness before its restoration—it had been rebuilt by Mr. Fisher, as Lake’s *Guide to St. Austell* observes, “in the Riding School style.” That was really a “restoration,” for it gave back to the building something of the Gothic order of which it was denuded by a former rector, whose idea—many rectors had this idea at one time—was to make it as much like a meeting-house as possible ; now, the tables are turned, and we see everywhere strenuous efforts to make the meeting-houses resemble Churches. Lipscomb went into the building in 1799, but “saw nothing remarkable, except an old grey-bearded schoolmaster, teaching a few boys in the chancel with his hat on.”² At the village public he slept, he says—

¹ Carew writes of *this* well—

“ You neighbours, scorners, holy, proud,
 Goe, people Roche’s cell ;
 Farr from the world, near to the heavens
 There, hermits, may you dwell.
 Is’t true that spring in Rock hereby
 Doth tidewise ebbe and flow ?
 Or have we fooles with lyers met ?
 Fame saies it : be it so ! ”

² *A Journey into Cornwall*, p. 271. Such irreverence was not peculiar, however, to this village. Cornwall has not a good reputation for it. In our own parish complaint was made to the Vestry in 1813 of the “gross misconduct and bad practice of many people, as well grown people as boys, particularly during the time of Divine Service,” and special constables were appointed to check it.

"In the worst inn's worst room,
The floor of plaster and the walls of dung."

Goss Moor lies a mile or two farther on. Here King Arthur and his knights—*Arthurus, flos regum*—are believed to have had some good days' sport in their time ; this, according to tradition, was their hunting ground. I question whether the tourist will say the moor was worth a visit, although it does contain one of the antiquities of the county, the old Road—I had almost written *Roman* road—to the Land's End, but it seems to be doubtful whether the great military roads extended west of Exeter or Totnes.¹ He may return to St. Austell, either by train from Victoria Station, or he may pass the Board School and take the road through Bugle, or he may keep to the old road which leads past Hensbarrow. (This *tumulus*, the burying-place of some prince or princes of a remote antiquity—the *long* barrows are held to have been erected by a long-headed pre-Aryan race ; the *round* barrows by a later, round-headed Celtic people²—stands 1,034 feet above the ocean, and commands a view of both seas. Carew happily denominated it "the *Archbeacon* of Cornwall."³) I recommend him to take the route last mentioned. If his time is short, however, and I shall here assume that it is, he had better combine with this excursion a visit to Carclaze Pit on the homeward journey: Murray's *Handbook* (p. 43) is right for once when it pronounces Carclaze our

¹ Mr. Worth was never able to trace any evidence of Roman road-making in Cornwall. Their occupation of the county was very slight—rather for trade than for dominion ; there are few if any Roman names. Still, a considerable number of Roman coins have been found, at Carhayes, Falmouth, Hayle, Marazion, and, most of all, Tywardreath. Mr. N. Whitley, *Journal R. Institut. Cornwall*, xvii. 199.

² These latter are generally found to contain the ashes of a cremated body. In one place, in St. Just in Penwith, over 50 urns were found surrounding the principal and central urn.

³ An incised stone was found at Hensbarrow in April, 1883, but it proved to be of no antiquity.



IN THE LUXULYAN VALLEY.

From a Photograph by Mr. Alan Coode.

THE NEW YORK
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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

"greatest curiosity," and says that "the view would alone repay a walk from St. Austell."¹ It lies off the main road from Bugle to Menacuddle or Tregonissey, a little to the left. It will amply repay the toil to walk along the margin; a point about midway commands a striking view of the two arms of the excavation; from the end he may cross the moor to Carn Gray, whence, if so minded, he may press on to Bridges and the Luxulyan Valley; he will not be disappointed, if he does; there is nothing more picturesque in its way in all Cornwall. The viaduct was constructed by Mr. J. T. Treffry (see p. 314). It is said that the Stannary records were formerly deposited in the octagonal turret of this Church tower. Luxulyan has been called the S parish, because of its winding ways. It would save time to take the train from Victoria to Bridges Station, where he must ask his way to the valley. The Duke of Wellington's sarcophagus, in the crypt of St. Paul's, is of Luxulyan porphyry. After a fruitless search on the Continent, a fitting block of stone was found here, one which weighed seventy tons. It was polished by steam power. It cost £1,100.²

¹ This writer also dwells on the striking contrast between the white cliffs and the brown moor. I do not say more about Carclaze here, because I have described it already, p. 46.

² Lake's *Guide to St. Austell*.

CHAPTER XVII.

TO ST. MEWAN AND POLGOOTH MINE.

DESCENDING the Truro Road, past the new Assembly Rooms, the pedestrian soon reaches Trevarrick, our West End or *Millionen Viertel*. The view up the valley from the Viaduct adjoining the Fair Park is very pleasing; a Londoner was once good enough to say that, of its kind, he had seen few things prettier. The Corn Mill to the right has one story connected with it. It was formerly occupied by a miller named Lukes, who had the good luck to win £1,000 in a lottery. He carried the money to Mr. Henry Lakes, the then owner of Trevarrick, and asked him to keep it for him. Mr. Lakes, knowing Luke's propensities for "emptying cloam,"¹ told him he'd far better empty his money into the mill stream and let it be carried out to sea. And so it proved: there was no peace until he had swallowed it all, when he readily confessed that Mr. Lakes was right, and that he would have been better off if he had never seen a penny of that money.² As we leave the houses behind, a road to the right diverges to Trewoon, and thence leads to St. Stephen's in Brannel. At Tregongeeves, on the left, at the top of the hill, the Friends have a "possession of a burying-place"; a bleak and storm-swept spot it is. It was

¹ See p. 337.

² The last lottery in England was in 1826. Westminster Bridge was built by means of lotteries.

given them by Thomas Lower—it had been given to him by Lord Mount Edgcumbe in 1710—a London physician, who visited George Fox when the latter was lodged in Launceston gaol, and forthwith became a convert to Quakerism. Here, at “Hill Head,” a mysterious light, popularly supposed to be something uncanny—the knowing ones ascribe it to “a large iron lode which traverses the locality”—is said to be occasion-



ST. MEWAN CHURCH.

From a Photograph by W. Orchard.

ally seen (I have never met with anybody who *has* seen it ¹) on dark November and December nights. It is described as of “a yellow hue, and seems to resemble a small embodied flame.” At the School we take the road to the right, which presently brings us to St. Mewan Church, which, like so many churches

¹ Mr. Drew claimed this honour. “Between the hours of six and ten,” he writes, “the Editor has repeatedly seen it.”

in this county, is far away from the people. Tradition says that the devil, always a foe to Church architecture, prevented the completion of the tower, but then other traditions say that he has always given this county a wide berth, being apprehensive lest the Cornish should put him into a pasty, as they do anything and everything that is edible. After inspecting the little Church, a fine choice of routes lies before us. We may either go on to Trewoon (pronounced *Truan*) and thence to St. Mewan Beacon, a bunch of grey, sparry, quartz rocks commanding a fair view: the name carries us back to those days of *Sturm und Drang*, when our forefathers lived in constant terror of invasion and the beacon fires were ever ready to be lighted; St. Mewan, we may be sure, bore its part when the Armada appeared—or we may turn aside below the Rectory to Burngullow, remarkable for its quarter-mile or so of Clay “Dries,” belonging to Messrs. Parkyn and Peters (where the China Clay industry may be inspected on a large scale); or we may hark back to the School House and keep the high road to Sticker; or we may take the footpath below the Friends’ Burial Ground to Polgooth—of which mention has so often been made—and go on thence to London Apprentice. If only one of these excursions is possible, I should choose the last on the list, as every visitor to this neighbourhood should see Polgooth mine, which in Hals’s time was esteemed the richest that had ever been worked in England. He can at least imagine what the place was like when it employed 1,200 hands. This mine has been the best friend St. Austell ever had, and it may still do us a good turn.

CHAPTER XVIII.

TO ST. BLAZEY AND PAR.

YESTERDAY we went West ; to-day our drive shall be to the opposite point of the compass ; we will make for Par, otherwise Biscovey, and St. Blazey. The main road lies through Mount Charles, diverging to the left from the Charlestown Road soon after we pass the Cross Roads, but it is—until we reach Holmbush, at any rate—a somewhat unattractive route (the rest of the way to St. Blazey is, as Stockdale said in 1824, “a very pleasant road”), and we shall find it repay us in the matter of scenery if we go *via* Polkyth and Sandy Bottom to Tregrehan Mills, or even if we make a still longer circuit by Tregonissey and its Board School and by Carn Gray, turning down the valley shortly before we reach the hamlet of Trethurgey. This also conducts us to Tregrehan Mills—we pass close to Knightor, where was the seat of the Trevannions, some of whom settled at Carhayes—whence it is but a short stretch to the main road already mentioned ; had we taken it from Mount Charles we should have passed through Holmbush (*i.e.*, Holly Bush), so named from its inn, with Cuddra, the residence of Mr. R. H. Williams, C.E., on our right, and Wheal Eliza, the mine over which he so long presided—in fact, until it was shut down—on our left. Soon after we regain this road we pass the entrance lodge to

Tregrehan (the "Granite Place"),¹ the seat of Mr. G. R. C. Carlyon, a place famed for its rhododendrons; the *Dalhousia* and *Aucklandia* varieties are found here. The house and grounds are undermined in almost every direction by the workings of Old Crinnis Copper Mine. Then we mount the hill and observe Biscovey Church on the left. This, too, is one of Mr. Street's earlier efforts; unfortunately, the spire was built of stone which has proved to be unsatisfactory. The parish boasts of one antiquity, the "Biscovey Stone," probably the shaft of a memorial cross: till recently, alas! used as a gate-post. It has just (Nov., 1896) been rescued from this humiliating position, and is now erected in the Churchyard. It was probably a mortuary monument; it has been thought that the words ALRORON ULLICI FILIUS can be traced thereon. It has been fractured, probably by means of a fall, at the top of the shaft. Once it was surmounted by a cross head. It has one peculiarity—it is widest in the middle. The letters are contained in two panels, one in front and the other on the back. It has been figured and described in Borlase's *Antiquities of Cornwall*,² and by Langdon, in his *Old Cornish Crosses*, p. 371. The village also boasts of having given birth to Ralph Allen, whose eventful and almost romantic history has already been recounted.³ The Methodist Chapel at the top of the village, *not* the one near the Church, has figured in story; it is the original "Leek-seed Chapel."⁴ As we descend the hill, a road to the left leads

¹ In the time of Edward III. William de Bodrygan held of the lord, the Duke of Cornwall, seven acres of land Cornish in Tregren. On the attainder of Sir Henry de Bodrugan, in the reign of Henry VII., his lands were distributed among the Edgcumbes, Trevannions and Paulets. The Earl of Mt. Edgcumbe still holds Bodrigan and much of Tregrehan. Lysons is hardly correct in setting down Sir Henry as the first owner of the estate last mentioned.

² Page 363. Plate xxxi.

³ Pages 153-155.

⁴ The story is that some young sparks at Tregrehan, hearing that the gardener, Wm. Stephens, was collecting money for building a chapel, resolved to play a practical joke

us to Par Green, where a Church has recently been erected by the Bishop of Truro; it was dedicated in 1896 as a thank-offering for the recovery of two members of his family. But our present destination is St. Blazey, so we keep right on.¹ The Church, long served by the Vicars of St. Austell (the severance was only made in 1845), has not many features of interest; it is shortly, if all goes well, to be restored.² It was endowed with a parsonage and grounds by General Carlyon of Tregrehan, who in return was invested with the patronage. The house above the town—it is a conspicuous object from the railway—is Prideaux, the seat of Sir C. B. Rashleigh, Bart.; it commands a fine view of the bay.³ At the station, on the

upon him. Having blackened their faces, they burst into his house at night, to find him sitting on his bed and reading his Bible. They had demanded his money, when their eyes fell on what appeared to be a heap of gunpowder on the table hard by. They also observed, with manifest alarm, that the old man held a flint in one hand and a steel in the other. Stephens was now master of the situation. Telling them that they would soon be in another world, he made them fall down and pray for mercy; they had already emptied the contents of their purses on to the table. Then he compelled them to sing a Psalm, during which, believing the end to be near, they made a rush for the door and escaped. The following Sunday, Stephens, who was a local preacher, told the story to his congregation, adding that the supposed gunpowder was his year's stock of leek-seed. The spoils of the three Egyptians helped very materially to build the meeting-house.

¹ Blasius, Bishop of Sebaste in Cappadocia, was beheaded in A.D. 298, during the Diocletian persecution—some say in 316. He is the patron saint of woolcombers, having, according to tradition, been lacerated with *combs*. He is said—what will they not say next?—to have landed at Par, when he came on a visit to this country. His aid was specially invoked in cases of toothache. The generally well-informed writer of *Cornwall, its Mines and Miners*, actually informs us that St. Blazey was "the birthplace of Bishop Blazes, the patron of the woolcombing trade" (p. 24).

² The work has just been commenced (May, 1897). Since St. Blazey was separated from St. Austell, it has had the following Vicars:—1845-1853, the Rev. C. E. Hosken; 1853-1863, the Rev. J. Bartlett; 1863-1870, the Rev. F. B. Paul; 1870-1893, the Rev. J. Penistan; 1893-1896, the Rev. A. L. Browne. Mr. Browne, now Vicar of Looe, has been succeeded by the Rev. W. C. Tuting, Assistant Curate of St. Austell in 1896.

³ A good story is told of the late baronet, who died in 1896: it reached me through a schoolfellow of his, the late Mr. Edward Coode, who, however, did not vouch for its absolute truth. When they were boys together at Eton, they had to write a theme on the text, *Nil temere facias*—"Do nothing rashly." The story is that Sir Colman did not

Cornwall Minerals Railway, the traveller may take the train to St. Austell. He may also, if so minded, take it North to Newquay (which no Cockney should fail to see), or South to Fowey, or he may move on to Par and return by a different route. And before returning, he may think it well to see Tywardreath and its Church. Both Newquay and Fowey will well repay a visit : the former, not on account of its brand-new lodging-houses, but its splendid sea and cliffs¹ ; the latter, not only because of its picturesqueness—it is a miniature *fjord*, and a boat excursion up the Fowey River or up the creek to Lanteglos will afford no little satisfaction—but also because of its historic interest ; it was a place of some importance as far back as the reign of Edward III., and it contributed a surprising number of ships and men to resist the Spanish Armada. The spot is still shown where an iron chain was stretched across the harbour by night to defend it from invasion. Notwithstanding this protection, the town was burnt by the French in 1547. In 1644 Lord Essex escaped from Fowey, and here the Parliamentary army, 6,000 strong, under Skippen, surrendered on Sept. 4th. In 1667 the Dutch admiral De Ruyter made an attack on the port, but was repulsed. Some of its later developments have been pictured—no doubt with much poetic license—in the *Astonishing History of Troy Town* ; the gifted author, Mr. A. T. Quiller-Couch, has his residence here. The Church, dedicated to St. Fimbarrus, will of course be visited. The clerestory windows were inserted by the Freemasons of the

write a line, and was summoned before the dreaded Keate in consequence. When the awful Head asked what the boy meant by such indolence and insubordination, the ingenuous youth replied that he understood the words to mean, "Do nothing, Rashleigh," so he had done nothing. It is said that Keate pulled his ear—almost facetiously, but severely—and told him not to try that on again.

¹ These should be seen, if possible, at low water. A charming excursion may be made to Bedruthan Steps and St. Mawgan.

county as a memorial to the late Rev. Dr. Treffry, and a fine parclose screen has recently been placed therein, at a cost of £170, in memory of Miss Myldrede Purcell, daughter of the present Rector, who died in March, 1894. At Place, of late called "Place Castle," the residence of the Treffrys, is a celebrated Porphyry Room; the walls, floor, and ceiling are literally of porphyry. The house has another distinction in the fact that it is haunted, or is said so to be; a former housekeeper, Ann Barnicoat by name, is believed to walk there, and there are those who profess to have seen her quite recently. Equally interesting and much more credible is the story of the bland Bishop Phillpotts' visit to Place. I believe he had been holding a Confirmation in the Church, and had adjourned to the house for tea. Mrs. Austin, the lady of the house, was, like others of her charming sex, somewhat given to praise her own goods, and on this occasion she was loud in her commendation of some saffron buns, or something of the kind. The courtly bishop was good enough to express his warm approbation of them, whereupon nothing would satisfy her but that he should have a substantial parcel made up for him to take away with him in the carriage. Alas, they never reached their destination! they were subsequently found lying about the grounds in various directions; that determined prelate had shied them all out of the window. One story is that when the chaplain asked what was to be done with this offering of affection, his Lordship promptly replied, "Throw it away," which accordingly was done. Of the Dr. Treffry just mentioned, some amusing stories are told. He was a little king in the place, and often acted as such. For example, when he collected the offertory in Church, did anyone presume to pass the bag, he would not hesitate—so one of his descendants informs me—to expostulate with them in a stage whisper, "What, can't you raise a penny? Why, I paid you

five shillings myself last week," etc., etc. The road to Par leads past the entrance to Point Neptune, and also past Menabilly Lodge. Menabilly is the home of the Rashleighs¹; the obelisk on the headland known as the Gribbin was erected by the Trinity House as a guide to navigation; observe the antient almshouses at the foot of the hill. Close to Par Station is Tywardreath, so often referred to in our history, and a mile and a half beyond is Trenythron. This was built by Col. Peard, Garibaldi's "mad Englishman"; it is now occupied by the Bishop of Truro. The harbour at Par was formed by J. T. Treffry, Esq., formerly Austin, a most enterprising person. He was largely connected with mines, notably the Par Consols and Fowey Consols; I have been told that he paid some thousands a week in wages. He not only constructed the harbour, but built a tram-line across the county to Newquay, so that his barges might disgorge their cargoes of coal there, and thus be spared the rounding of the Land's End and the Lizard. He established smelting works hard by; the chimney still remains to speak of their departed greatness. Within the last century the tide flowed up from Par—the word means "swamp"²—to St. Blaze Bridge: that is to say, the sea has been driven back some two miles within living memory. The tall chimney just mentioned, which is so conspicuous an object as we take the road across the moors to St. Austell, is known in the neighbourhood as "Par Stack"—it is one of our little pleasantries to speak of a top hat as a "Par Stack." About twenty-five years ago a Fowey sailor undertook, for a wager, to stand *upon his head* on the top of this column, and did it; the name of this acrobat is given as

¹ Lysons states that the possessions of the Rashleigh family for the most part came into its hands by purchase in the time of Queen Elizabeth or James I. See p. 260, note.

² Polwhele says that these low-lying lands have generated many agues (p. 72).

Daniel Ambrose. The traveller will observe the great mounds of Mundick, or Mine Sand : it has of late been used on the railway, as it is fatal to all vegetation. A road to the left leads to Crinnis, and if we pursued it we should come to the field of operations of the Old Crinnis Mine, of which mention has been made elsewhere.¹ The lands hereabout, before we diverge, were once known as Nancemellin, or Nansmelyn, and it was concerning the mineral rights therein that the famous Trial at Bar, *Rowe v. Brenton*, was held. At Merther, in this neighbourhood, once resided a family of the name of Laa, of whom a stirring story is told by Hals. It is that after Lord Hopton had surrendered to Fairfax, some of the latter's soldiers entered the house at Merther, and presently threatened to murder Mrs. Laa, who was dilatory in preparing food for them. Her husband was riding about his estate, when he heard of their arrival, and also heard that they were entertaining themselves at his expense. Returning to the house in no amiable mood, a quarrel was picked in a very short time, whereupon he took down a gun and shot one of the rebels dead on the spot. Then, realizing his danger, he leaped upon his horse and made for the Parr—clearing a five-barred gate on the way—where he dashed into the sea (it was then high water), swam across to the opposite shore, and so escaped. I may perhaps add that it is a confirmation of this story that we find² William Laa of St. Austell, in 1651, having to make his peace with the Commonwealth by paying £169 : 8 : 2—about £1,000 of our money. Family and house have both disappeared; every old house in this neighbourhood has been improved off the face of the earth. From this point we may pass along the cliffs to Charlestown, or take the valley road to St. Austell.

¹ Page 39.² See page 29.

And with this excursion to Par, our rambles through the district must for the present terminate. But the incautious reader must not suppose that we have exhausted either the beauties or the notabilities of this region—"the heart of Cornwall," as it might fairly be called: St. Austell is the capital of the Mid-Cornwall Division. The parish abounds in beautiful walks—my kind neighbour, Canon Rogers, has counted some four-and-twenty of these—and the neighbourhood in objects of interest, which I hope my readers may be tempted to come and see for themselves.

CHAPTER XIX.

OUR PEOPLE.

IF, as we have so often heard, "the proper study of mankind is man," then I may venture to hope that this appreciation of the Cornish folk, this account of their speech, dress, manners, customs and usages, and these anecdotes concerning them, may be deemed a fitting close to this volume. It will certainly supply some information to outsiders, and will not, I hope, be entirely void of interest to "our people" themselves.

I must, however, explain—partly in self-defence—that I do not pretend in these last pages to describe the inhabitants of St. Austell in particular. Tolerant as they have been of my failings, I am not at all sure that they would care or endure to have their portrait painted by my 'prentice hands. Moreover, however flattering my account as a whole might be, it would be more than my place is worth to venture on one word of disparagement. I propose, therefore, to speak of Cornishmen generally; indeed, I do not know that one Cornish parish can differ very materially from another, though they do say hereabouts that contiguous parishes, Redruth and St. Agnes for example, have their subtle differences of intonation and phraseology.¹ But one *county* may differ considerably from other

¹ That *districts* differ here in Cornwall is beyond doubt, E. and W. Cornwall for example. And the mining portion differs from all the rest.

counties, and especially one so remote and isolated and sea-girt as this is; a peninsula *must* breed its own peculiarities. Under the head of "our people," therefore, it must be remembered that I include the three hundred thousand souls of the Duchy. And I will first discourse of their

PHYSIOGNOMY.

For I must hold that, in spite of all the inter-marriages with outsiders and all the importations of foreigners (of which I plead guilty to furnishing one example), there is a distinct type, a Cornish type of face. My friend, Canon Rogers, indeed, holds that there is a distinct *St. Austell type*, and very flattering language he uses about it; he has been greatly impressed, I understand, by our young men and maidens; many are by the maidens.¹ I cannot be quite positive on that point, but as to the facial characteristics of the *county* I am quite clear, though I might find it difficult to describe them exactly. All that I can say is that the *prevailing type* is distinctly less Saxon and more Spanish-looking than that of the shires. I think that our complexions are darker and our features less marked, less rugged, more classic: in short, I seem to trace here in a modified degree—and this is only what we might expect—the features which one discovers in Wales in a marked degree. If this is questioned, as it may be, I can only repeat that this is my impression, and has been ever since I came hither. And it is confirmed by observing that red-haired people—I am thinking of a flaming and aggressive tint—are almost as rare amongst us as they were

¹ "The women of Cornwall are handsome, but not particularly fresh coloured. They are modest, open and unaffected in manner." *Illustr. Itiner.*, p. 18. The sentence which I next quote refers to St. Austell in 1695. "I must say they are as comely sort of women as I have seen anywhere, tho' in ordinary dress—good black eyes and crafty enough and very neate." *Diary of Celia Fiennes*, p. 218.

in antient Egypt, where such persons were sacrificed to the immortal gods.¹ As to their

PHYSIQUE

I confess I cannot trace any marked difference, or rather, let me say, any difference of any kind, between the Cornish and men of other counties. It has been held that they are broader and sturdier than the generality of Englishmen; it is affirmed, for example, that "a regiment of Cornish militia, when at Chatham camp, stood on more ground than any other militia of the same number of men,"² but one would like to know who made this observation, and whether other regiments have confirmed it. Similarly, Polwhele pronounces the Cornish to be "short and thick, with legs too slight for their bodies," but one sees a good number of ricketty limbs elsewhere, and possibly Cornish legs have improved since his day. One thing, however, may be affirmed of the most of them—that whatever constitutions GOD has given them, they have taken good care of them, with the result that our race can boast of a robuster health and a greater length of days than most of our countrymen.³ This longevity was remarked as far back as the time of Carew. "For health," he says, "eighty and ninety years of age is ordinary in every place, and in most persons accompanied with an able exercise of the body and senses." He further gives some extraordinary instances of longevity,

¹ Miss Courtney affirms that such persons are here described as "looking as if they were born on bonfire night," which, I think I may say, is an ordinary sample of Cornish rustic wit.

² See Polwhele, p. 30. Others say that the Cornish have sloping shoulders.

³ Polwhele remarks on the prolific families found in the county, among whom he places in the first rank the Rogerses of Penrose, but I think I could mention others that entirely eclipse them. In my own parish, Mrs. B——, of C——, was one of a family of 21 children, and her father was one of 23 children, *all* of whom grew up, married, and had considerable families.

and Borlase and Polwhele furnish many more, but Sir G. Cornwall Lewis did not live in those days to test them. The Rev. T. Cole, Minister of Landewednack, is said in the Register to have been upwards of 120 years of age when he was buried. The sexton, Michael George, who died the same year (1683), is also put down as over 100.¹ I find no reason, however, to doubt the statement of Mr. Trist, Vicar of Veryan, that his Registers prove that one person in eight in that village attained the age of eighty (the average elsewhere being one in thirty-two—one in forty in London) and one in fifty-three the age of ninety or more.²

Dare I say anything about our

MENTAL PROPERTIES AND ENDOWMENTS ?

I will risk one or two observations; I use the word "risk" advisedly. I think there is a prevailing type of mind and character, just as there is a predominant caste of features, the product of Celtic blood and Cornish environment. I do not seem to find here, but I speak under correction, the grit, the force, the warmth, the raciness—I am glad to say that as little do I find the frequent rudeness or (shall we say) brusqueness—of the North. There is not so much individuality: we have, perhaps happily for our peace, very few "characters," and there is an unmistakable insularity and parochialism of mind; perhaps this is inevitable. And this, I take it, is what Mr. Stevenson complains of in his striking paper *Across the Plains*, when he says that, whatever Lady Hester Stanhope could do, he cannot make anything of the Cornish. Not even a Red Indian seemed more foreign in his eyes; he describes bitterly how

¹ Johns, *Week at the Lisard*.

² Of burials in Mullion Churchyard—apart from those of infants under five years of age—in the fifty years from 1813 to 1863, 178 out of 405 were of persons over seventy years of age, whilst 84 were of persons over eighty. (*Mullion*, p. 111.)

the emigrants from this county stood aloof from everybody else; "a racial difference," he says, "older and more original than that of Babel, keeps this close esoteric family apart from neighbouring Englishmen"; he pictures the knot of emigrants, "one reading the New Testament all day long through steel spectacles, and the rest discussing privately the secrets of their old-world, mysterious race." And he is not singular in accusing us of aloofness; in fact, it is admitted by Cornishmen themselves. "It is not to be concealed," says *The Gazetteer of Cornwall*, "that that degree of reserve before strangers which is so peculiarly and in some instances so unpleasantly the characteristic of Englishmen, is very discernible among all ranks in Cornwall." The impression that many Cornishmen, yes, and some of my parishioners, contrive to give me, is that they are apprehensive lest I should want to borrow money from them, whereas in other parishes my relations with my flock have been so cordial that they have not hesitated to borrow from me! Someone says, "the Cornish are all heart," but it is one of the last things that I should accuse them of; it may be because I do not know them better.¹ We are not original, again, nor am I sure that we are altogether abreast of the age—perhaps we are too far away from the metropolis for that. "The Cornish people," observes Wilkie Collins, "are left, as it were, to struggle in the rear of the great onward march of the busy world before them. Modern improvements reach them but slowly."² Nor am I convinced that, as a class, we

¹ I think it most instructive that, as Mrs. Pascoe tells us, people have had to pay a halfpenny—and did pay it—to have a chapter of the Bible read to them. I find, too, that a charge of one penny is made for carrying the pay of paupers who are too old or too weak to fetch it. I cannot discover much "heart" here, and I doubt whether this is done in other counties.

This was written before the railway invaded the county. I hope no one will think that I say that Cornishmen are not *enterprising*; how could I do so? Their capacity and energy are proved by mines all over the world.

are eager to embrace them ; I seem to trace a certain lethargy in our people ; some people ascribe it to our enervating climate. A cute Scotsman tells me he observes such a wide difference between John o' Groats and the Land's End. In bonnie Scotland, the lads of the villages will ever be engaged in manly competitions : the idea is

αἶν' ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων,

whilst here the young fellows collect aimlessly at "the Fools' Corner," or moon about the lanes with a girl. I am glad to believe, however, that things are mending ; we are now taking up football and cricket with some approach to enthusiasm (I trust the Cornish common sense may preserve us from visitations of such severity as are witnessed elsewhere). But our athletics are not of an illustrious order. It is affirmed, indeed, that W. G. Grace, or some eminent cricketer, when he visited the county, was unspeakably surprised to see a covey of partridges rise from the pitch during the first "over," but this grotesque and calumnious story carries with it its own refutation. I can, however, pledge my credit to the truth of the following statements. A St. Austell eleven was playing at R——, when one of the home team got not only his leg but much of his ample person before the wicket. "How's that ?" cried the bowler. "Nat out !" replied the R—— umpire, with astonishing promptitude. But this did not prevent the said umpire from presently informing the offender in a stage whisper that, though "not guilty," he "must not do it again." "Jawn Minear," he said impressively, "how often be I to tell you about that leg o' yours ? Next time, I'll give 'ee out, shure 'nuff." This, however, may have been a local peculiarity, for at the same place another team was playing in a field kindly lent by Farmer ——, who was himself one of the players. He

was presently given "out"—he *was* out unmistakably—to his immense surprise; he had never counted on such ingratitude. "Be I out?" he cried, "then out o' this field yiew goes!" And—I blush to write it—at St. Austell (please remember that this was some years ago), at a football match, our sturdy captain was overheard vowing bodily mischief against a rough player of the L—— team. "Lemme get that young G——'s leg 'tween my teeth," he cried, "and see ef I doant make 'em meet 'fore I've a done with un." But let no one conclude from this sanguinary threat that we are savages. I allow that Camborne has an evil reputation, but we are not in the habit of "giving him Camborne" elsewhere, and if I were ever, for my sins, condemned to pass through the fires of football, I would rather trust my unhappy person to a Cornish team than to any other; I think my remains would be less mangled. I believe the Cornish to be distinctly less brutal and truculent, if less forceful and resolute and ambitious, than the fair-haired Saxons. But we were talking of *mental* qualities. I should not incline to say that the Cornishman, as compared with other men, is brilliant (we are none of us particularly so), but what can you expect from such a soft, steamy atmosphere as ours? But I do observe throughout the county a prodigious amount of sober, steady, useful common sense—and this is generally allowed to be the rarest kind of sense. They may be reserved, *bornés*, and somewhat *entêtés*; they may occasionally be lacking in robust physical courage (the charge brought against our miners in the Transvaal, however undeserved, is no new thing: as far back as the times of Froissart we hear of it; I myself seem to have observed a certain deficiency of *moral* courage, perhaps more than elsewhere¹), but they are neverthe-

¹ I think I ought perhaps to say that I have received more anonymous letters since I came here than in all the rest of my life.

less calm, quiet, practical, dependable. And I connect this sober, useful, if prosaic character which the race has acquired with the fact that the part assigned to Cornishmen—by the very necessities of their position, by their environment—the part assigned them in the development of their country and in the service of humanity is that of the hand, the instrument, rather than of the head. They have ever been among the workers, rather than the thinkers of England, and they have been this just because they are so racy of the soil. Cornwall is no

“Caledonia, stern and wild,
Meet nurse for a poetic child,”

but it is a region of enterprise, of delving into the bowels of the earth, of constant battling with the cruel sea. It is this accounts for the versatility and capability of our people; there are Cornishmen not a few who can turn their hands to almost anything—mining, fishing, building, farming, tailoring, shoe-making: their very isolation has made each man self-sufficing—*totus, teres atque rotundus*. I am not surprised, therefore, that the county has produced few minds of the first order; I mean few, if any, poets or philosophers, humorists or statesmen.¹ No one would say that Sir Humphrey Davy, or the saintly Henry Martyn, or Opie the painter, or our own Samuel Drew,² or Samuel Foote, or Lord Exmouth, were in the first rank, yet I am unable to call to mind any Cornishman of much greater

¹ If I may speak and live, I should say that, as a class, the Cornish are lacking in the sense of humour. Nor am I singular in this belief; it is an impeachment which some of themselves have brought against the rest. One of the typical Cornish family of B—, for example, a Hebrew of the Hebrews, tells how at a mine meeting he playfully suggested to the shareholders that they should try to dispose of their antiquated machinery to a museum or to an archaeological society. Not a muscle stirred; no one saw the joke. Of course there are Cornishmen and Cornishmen but we are speaking of the prevailing type.

² See p. 153.

eminence: Whitaker, the author of *The Ancient Cathedral of Cornwall*, has by some been pronounced to be

"Cornubia's proudest boast,
The brightest gem that genius ever lost,"

but few outside the county have ever heard of this gentleman. Yet it has given birth to a host of shrewd, steady, plodding, practical workers, and such sons of our soil are found at the present day, the world over, replenishing the earth and subduing it. I must also mention that our people, if not, as a rule, distinguished in the walks of literature or in the schools or the senate, are as little conspicuous in the Police Courts and the Newgate Calendar. They are, with rare exceptions, sober, honest, industrious, and law-abiding. And they have not infrequently another charm in their quaint and sweet simplicity. We have, or had a few years ago, Cornishmen not a few who have never seen a railway train, or been ten miles away from home. I have had in my own employ a lad of eighteen who until he came to me had never seen a train; I may add that after once seeing it, he was for ever wanting to see it again. Our house adjoins the railway station, and the first few weeks the sound of the whistle was the signal for this Bœotian boy to fling down his spade and rush to the gate to see the monster pass. "They're jealous of me," said a Redruth woman, "because I've been up country"—she had never gone farther East than St. Austell. And one writer¹ tells us how his driver from St. Just to the Land's End, who had lived all his life, man and boy, at St. Just, had *only once* been to the Land's End before. But here is something more curious still. One Market day a clergyman called my attention to a youth in the crowd. He said, "That boy is eighteen years of

¹ *Cornwall, its Mines, etc.*

age ; he is the son of an engine driver ; he lives at St. Blazey, five miles away. He is a fairly intelligent lad, but he has never been in a train, nor has he seen St. Austell until to-day." Is it any wonder if we have preserved an engaging simplicity which in other parts of "this machine-driven, devil-driven England" has long since been improved off the face of the earth ? And here I cannot resist quoting an amusing instance of this quality. In 1887, at the time of the Queen's Jubilee, some ladies in the parish of Gwennap were collecting the pennies of poor people towards the Women's Offering. One old democrat flatly declined to give a farthing, or to let his wife give. He said the Queen had too many overfed, overpaid servants. "There's the Lord Chamberlain," said he, "'ee do draw £5,000 a year, 'ee do ! And what do 'ee do for it ? Only makes the beds, ents a few slops, and that sourt of thing !" Talking of Jubilees, which are now (May, 1897) in the air, I may cite here the definition given by one old goody to another. "What es a Jewbilee, my dear ?" said one of the pair. "Why, 'tes like this," said the other. "If yiew and yiewr auld man 'ave ben marrid fifty years, 'tes a Golden Wedden', but if the LORD 'ave took un, 'tes a Jewbilee." This mention of marriage reminds me of a ridiculous thing which happened recently in St. Austell Church, and which illustrates the humility of our ideas. A Curate, who was marrying a loving couple, unfortunately got hold of the wrong names in the Banns Book, with the result that he put altogether wrong *Christian* names into the lips of the contracting parties ; in fact, he made the man, who had been christened *Samuel*, call himself *Richard Augustus Alexander*. But Samuel adopted this new designation—as she did hers—with the greatest facility, and the mistake was never suspected till they came to sign the register. The blushing bridegroom,

when taxed with his perversity, pleaded that he "thought it was printed like that in the book." For the following contribution a neighbour is responsible. A "visiting lady" was talking to a poor woman about a sermon which the latter had lately heard on the subject of King Solomon. What had most impressed her was the number of wives and "porcupines"—so she is believed to have called them—which he possessed. "Law, ma'm," said she, "what privileges they early Christians did have, to be sure!" I have just cited the experience of one of my excellent Curates; let me give that of another. He was uniting in bonds of matrimony a couple of swains—it was not in Cornwall—when the lady's responses were so extremely faint that he had to request her to speak louder. The bridegroom energetically seconded this interpellation, for he gave fair Dulcinea a dig in the ribs, and cried at the same time into her ear, "Buck up, Disy!" But to return to our Cornish simplicity. A lady in the neighbourhood, a year or two ago, asked her new cook to send up the veal for lunch, when she was floored by the question, "Which part o' the bullock be vale, please, ma'm?" Again, the Vicar of Tywardreath, in the course of catechizing, asked a little maid, "Who gave you this name?" Sharp and prompt came the reply, "My godfathers and godmothers *in my back-kitchen*," etc. Equally ridiculous was an answer I heard in our own schools. The Diocesan Inspector had been taking a class on the Stilling of the Tempest—"Let us cross over unto the other side," etc. Their replies being somewhat slack, he prompted them. "Come now, 'Let us'—'Let us'; what was it?" "Let us *pray*," said a gawky youth.¹ But

¹ I must really embalm in these pages a story told me by one of H.M. Inspectors. The able and amiable Chief Inspector, in the course of an examination, wanted to arrive at the answer "flesh," and it was not forthcoming. So he pinched his own fresh and ruddy cheek, and asked, "Why, what do you call *this*?" "*Pork*," was the ready reply.

all these illustrations are taken from the humbler classes, whereas a primitive and almost patriarchal order and habit more or less enfolds all conditions of Cornishmen in its embrace. A worthy Vicar on the North coast, for example, never slept outside his own Vicarage for some thirty years. And a lady tells me of an amusing scene which she witnessed in a country Rectory, ten miles from our telegraph station. One day a telegram, a thing almost unheard of in those solitudes, for it was an expensive luxury, was put into the Rector's hands. Forthwith all the household was in a fever of excitement. Fearing bad news, his loving spouse besought him to let her open it, but he rejected her advances and braced himself to the ordeal. Between them, with trembling fingers, they at last tore open the envelope. But it was only to read these words, "Will you have that manure or not?"

I hear that some writers accuse the Cornish of *curiosity*; Miss Celia Fiennes did those of 200 years ago, and those, too, of this neighbourhood. After premising that they "are very ill guides and know but little from home, only to some market towne they frequent," she adds, "But they will be very solicitous to know where you goe and how farre and from whence you Came and where is y^r abode."¹ And I strongly suspect that this shrewd observer has put her finger on a Celtic characteristic; not because I have ever remarked this feature myself, but because more Cornishmen than one have confessed to this weakness. Canon Hockin, Rector of Phillack, tells me that a "foreigner," asking the way to St. —, was electrified when the tables were turned on him, and he was asked where he had come from. "I don't see what that matters to you," he replied; "what I asked was how I am to get to —." "Aw," said the Cornishman,

"if so be yiew wean't tell we wheer yiew be cum from, we bean't a goin' to tell yiew the way to St. —." A lady, not a foreigner, tells me that this very thing happened to her, not far from Newquay. For myself, I should be more disposed to charge them with excessive *caution* than with curiosity. They stand aloof even from each other. "I keep myself to myself" they sometimes tell me. Nor are they to be indiscriminately condemned for this. One result is that there is very little gossiping: one does not see women here, with their arms akimbo, whiling away the hours; they leave that to the men at the Fools' Corner. But another result is—a seeming lack of sympathy and help. Did an accident befall any of our Yorkshire folk, all the women far and near would crowd into his room, all wanting to help, all willing to take a turn at nursing, all scorning the thought of pay. To be sure their attentions were somewhat embarrassing; they deprived the sick man of fresh air, and their strident voices well-nigh deafened him, but the goodwill was so manifest and so precious. Not very much of that is *exhibited* here (I am speaking of our poor); I make no doubt it is sometimes *felt* all the same. They seem so dreadfully afraid of committing themselves; they are not downright; they are strangers to the "scorn of consequence." It is manifest even in their speech, which savours of the canny Scot. "I wouldn't say but"—that is a favourite phrase. There is a marked disposition to "hedge." I asked a rather superior person one day whether she had been confirmed, but I did not get a "Yes" or a "No" even to that plain question. "Well, ahem! *partially so*," was the guarded reply. I believe she meant that she had been prepared for Confirmation and got no further.¹

¹ In a recent railway accident, it will be remembered that the first request of a poor mangled lady, when she was extricated from the *débris*, was that they would "put her

May I venture on one criticism more? It seems to me that the West-country folk do not look you quite so straight in the face as they do north of the Trent; nor are they, on the other hand, "thanks be," so brutally candid and plain-spoken. It may be because of my calling (for I cannot conceal from myself that our Dissenting poor do, in very many cases, distrust the clergy, if they do not look on them as their natural enemies), but one often has the feeling that they are making a snook at you behind your back, especially if you have watched them doing this to somebody else. They are often said to be "so independent," but they rather give me the impression of having been repressed; of having had to order themselves lowly and reverently to betters whom they did not respect. I suspect that in ages past this was the case, and that the "lower orders" had short shrift at the hands of the quality. An old man, now under the sod, has often complained to me of the falling off in respectful manners which he witnessed. When he was a lad, everybody touched his hat to the "passon," though sometimes the return they got was a cut with his riding-whip! And a Quaker gentleman who has made for himself a name and a fortune has been heard to tell how as a boy the iron entered his soul. His family declined to pay tithes, and their goods were distrained upon from time to time in consequence. This did not tend to augment their affection for the Vicarage, and it was with some surprise that his mother, who had a reputation for curing hams, one day received a message from that quarter, asking her to go up and teach them how to salt theirs. She declined, with the result

bonnet straight." A man, equally mangled, cried, "Gi' my love to my poor lads." This has been unjustly supposed to represent the difference between the sexes; it does illustrate one difference between South and North.

that the next time there was a distraint, *their* hams were taken. To add insult to injury, the "passon," when he met any of the family in the street, would compliment them on the excellent ham he was now eating. No doubt this was an extreme case, but I cannot but fear that, if the Cornish poor are ever double-faced, it is partly the result of the state of semi-serfdom in which their forefathers lived. The pleasing and refined

MANNERS

of the Cornish have been celebrated for centuries. Queen Elizabeth is reported to have said that "the Cornish were all born courtiers."¹ Camden is equally flattering. "Nor is Cornwall," he writes,² "more happy in the soil than in the inhabitants, who, as they are extremely well bred and ever have been so, even in those more antient times (for, as Diodorus Siculus observes, *by conversation with merchants trading hither for Tinn, they became remarkably courteous to strangers*), so are they lusty, stout, and of a competent stature," etc. But such testimony has repeatedly been borne to the respectful and self-respecting behaviour of all classes. John Wesley, *speaking of St. Austell*, writes in his Journal,³ "I preached to an exceedingly civil people." Mr. Warner, whose *Tour through Cornwall* I have more than once referred to, ascribes these pleasing manners to the change wrought in the county by the labours of "the Wesleian Methodists,"⁴ which, however, does not agree with Camden's account, or with that of Diodorus Siculus, or with Wesley's testimony just cited. Mr. Wilkie Collins testified (in 1851) that the Cornish are essentially a contented, cheerful race. "The views of the working men," he proceeds to say, "are remarkably moderate and sensible. I never met with so

¹ Carew has the remark that "all Cornish gentlemen are cousins"—there have been so many intermarriages.

² *Britannia*, p. 7.

³ *Works*, Vol. ii., p. 427.

⁴ Page 299.

few grumblers anywhere.”¹ And again, “The manners of the Cornish of all ranks, down to the lowest, are remarkably distinguished by courtesy—a courtesy of that kind which is quite independent of artificial breeding. . . . Civil questions are always answered civilly.”² “I never received an impertinent answer that I can remember,” writes the author of *Cornwall, its Mines and Miners*: “They show more courtesy to strangers than usual. My companion,” he playfully adds, “formed a very favourable opinion of the females, whom he, as a family man, could well estimate.” This was in 1855, but I am proud to say that this amiable trait remains unchanged. I have understood that the London police who came down both to the foundation and the consecration of Truro Cathedral were much impressed by the appearance and behaviour of the crowds; they said that the working classes were dressed and behaved like gentlemen. But they cannot have been more impressed than I was myself when I first came here. The contrast between West Country and West Riding is “prodigious.” A swear-word, for example, is seldom heard amongst us. Of betting and its concomitants we know little or nothing, and we know very little of obtrusive vulgarity; I verily believe that Cornwall yields fewer ‘Arrys and ‘Arriets, in proportion to its population, than any other county; there is a propriety, a civility which I have never seen surpassed in England. The “Larrikin” element is especially conspicuous by its absence. Wilkie Collins³ was at Foey (as he writes it) during the boat races—i.e., Fowey Regatta—and two men with knapsacks excited universal wonder: some people innocently asked if they could not afford to ride. Yet “the staring,” he says, “was without one jeering word or impertinent look.” Altogether, a pleasanter people to live and work among you shall

¹ Page 84.² Page 91.³ *Rambles*, p. 101.

not find within our four seas. At the same time, I confess to one anxiety. These charming manners characterize the *older* people, and I sometimes ask myself whether the rising generation will maintain these honourable traditions. The Board School does not always teach manners; it is said that some of the masters have souls much superior to such trifles.

But, polite and patient and law-abiding as our people generally are, there is a certain Celtic fire which smoulders beneath the surface, but which can easily be fanned into a flame—and has been—as demagogues have long since discovered. It is, in fact, the same spirit which we trace in the “Thirty Thousand Cornishmen” of the immortal song. They have been ready enough to rise on occasion, and to march on Exeter, or even on London. The rebels under Flamank and Joseph, the latter a smith of Bodmin, penetrated as far as to Blackheath in 1497 before they were defeated by Lord Daubeney, whilst in the September of the same year Exeter was besieged by the West countrymen under Perkin Warbeck. And in later days this Cornish fire has blazed up from time to time. In 1756, when there was much distress among the tanners, several hundreds of them assembled at St. Agnes and planned to march on Padstow, where there was believed to be much corn, to loot the shops and ships, and, if necessary, to fire the town. It is true they melted down on the journey to ten red revolutionists, who persevered to the bitter end; a mob of 500 or 600 did, however, make some show of a raid on the stores. So again, ten years later, the tanners were once more at war with the farmers, and at Truro, at Redruth, and elsewhere, they collected and clamoured loudly for a lowering of prices to the standard they had unanimously adopted as just and fair. Butter was not to exceed sixpence a pound, and potatoes were to be retailed at 2½d. per gallon, and these prices the farmers were in many

cases overawed into conceding. Even as late as 1847 the miners gave no little trouble at St. Austell; it was the same old idea that the farmers were demanding exorbitant profits. The outbreak would have been serious had not Mr. Nicholas Kendall, who was then High Sheriff, stood for three hours in our streets between an obnoxious corn dealer and a furious mob of 300 men, and dared them to come on, except over his prostrate body.¹ And since that day there has been a threatening of trouble once or twice on the part of the clay-workers; one sees, too, at election times that the antient enthusiasm is not extinct; still, I believe that our people generally have learnt a more excellent way, and emigration, for one thing, has taken the place of the *émeutes* of former years.

Now I pass to speak of our

DRESS,

which I think is calculated to impress the beholder, sometimes by its gorgeousness, but generally by its sobriety and sensibleness. I must confess that a great deal of attention is paid to dress, and in St. Austell in particular; you should see some of our toilettes; it is a common saying amongst us that people will go well dressed, even if they have to go without food. I came to the county from a region where the working classes have far higher wages² and yet are not nearly so well habited; in Yorkshire, much of the wage disappears down the throat, and their feminine toilettes, when they attempt any, are often excruciating; I was struck with the contrast at once. Though we have much more pauperism—38 in the thousand; exactly double that of the West Riding³—the dress of poverty (often

¹ At the Bodmin Summer Assizes, on July 28th, '47, ten of the ringleaders were sentenced to hard labour for terms varying from six months to two years.

² In 1850 Wilkie Collins found the farm labourers of this county receiving only 9s. per week. Now our clay-workers, etc., have 15s.

³ In Devon the proportion is 40 to the 1,000; in Norfolk, 47'4; in Middlesex, 19'6.

it is the livery of drink) is much more frequently seen in the North than in the South. I turn to our

DIALECT.

I say "dialect," because our speech *has* its peculiarities, though they are much less marked than in most other districts; in fact, I do not know a county in England with less *patois*; even so far West as Penzance travellers have remarked on the purity of the English spoken there.¹ And I account for this phenomenon—that Cornwall, though more remote from the metropolis, speaks an infinitely purer English than, say, Devon or Somerset—by remembering that our people had till comparatively recent times a language of their own; they had their own Celtic tongue down to the fifteenth or sixteenth century. I do not mean that this now dead and buried language was generally or even widely spoken at the latter date (Warner says it was everywhere spoken throughout the county, *temp.* Henry VIII., but I very much doubt it), but that it lingered in certain districts, much as Welsh does now in parts of Wales.² We are told, for example, that in St. Feock parish, Mr. Jackman, the Vicar, administered the Sacraments in Cornish down to 1640, the poorer people not understanding any other tongue. Later still, in 1678, Mr. Robinson of Landewednack, close to the Lizard, preached sometimes, it is said, in Cornish. By the year 1700, however, it had quite

¹ *Illustr. Itinerary*, p. 169.

² Camden says that in his day Cornish was "only spoken by the vulgar in two or three parishes at the Land's End. . . . 'Tis a good while since that only two men could write it." He gives the *Lord's Prayer* and the *Creed* in Cornish (p. 9). In 1768 Daines Barrington found no one—save Dolly Pentreath—who could speak it at all. And Ray the naturalist found no larger a number of proficients in this tongue in 1662. But Mr. Harvey (*Mullion*, p. 96) asserts that it was "spoken by many on to the beginning of the present century." He instances one of the Matthews who died in 1800. And Mr. Lach Szyrma, formerly Vicar of Newlyn St. Peter, says that the fishermen of that place still *count* in Cornish.

died out, except in five or six villages, clustering round the Land's End, and when Dolly Pentreath of Mousehole passed away in 1778, the antient Cornish language may be said to have died with her.

But one obvious consequence of their having a language of their own has been that the people of this county have acquired a later English than that inherited by other Englishmen ; they have learnt it in schools and the like, free from many of its archaisms : the people of Menheniot, for example, are said to have first learnt the Creed, the LORD's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments in English from their Vicar, Dr. Moreman.¹ But, be the reason what it may, it is indisputable that the dialect of Cornwall is not to be named, for broadness and ruggedness, by the side of the Doric of Lancashire or Yorkshire ; it is sometimes said in the latter county that " a Pudsey man "—Pudsey is a village between Leeds and Bradford—" will make his way in Germany," so like is the *lingua franca* of the place to the old *Platt-Deutsch*. Still, Cornwall has its idioms, its odd words and expressions, its tricks of speech, and so forth, and some of these I proceed to record.²

And first as to *words* : then as to *phrases*. The words, I am afraid, I must set down without any attempt at classification, unless it is that the commonest come first. We use the word

¹ Since I wrote this, I find that Camden made a similar observation long ago. " Their language," he says, " is the English, and (which is something surprising) is observed by Travellers to be more pure and refined than that of their neighbours, Devonshire and Somersetshire. The most probable reason whereof seems to be this, that English is to them an introduced, not an original language, and those who brought it in were the Gentry and Merchants, who imitated the Dialect of the Court." *Britannia*, p. 8.

² I must express my obligations to Mr. Iago's *Glossary of the Cornish Dialect* ; to papers by Mr. T. Q. Couch and Mr. Thomas Garland in the *Journal of the Roy. Inst. of Cornwall* for March and April, 1865 ; and to the Rev. Canon Rogers, who has put at my disposal a MS. list which he has prepared.

“wisht” for *sad* or *wretched*—“’tes wisht, shure ’nuff”¹; we use “slight” for *poorly*, *indifferent*, just as in Scotland they use “sober”; a stout party was much taken aback on being told, “Yiew be lookin’ fine and slight.” “Clome” or “cloam” stands with us for *pottery*, *earthenware*—“emptying cloam” is a euphemism for *drinking*; “clunk” stands for *swallow* (“clunk et down” is often heard), and the throat is called the “clunker”; “clodgy” (compare “stodgy”) means *sticky*; “scat” or “scat abroad” is our way of referring to *breakage*, *bankruptcy*, etc.—“he’s gone scat”; “scat in jowds” means *broken in pieces*. The “cheens” are the *loins*; the “nuddick” is the *nape of the neck*—this speech was heard somewhere, “I hitched my foot in the sconce [pavement] and knacked my nuddick, an’ a wadn’t able to clunky for a fortnight”; a “cheel” is a *child*; “banger” stands for *big*; “bal” for *mine*—in the St. Breage Registers we find the entry, “Died at the Bal”; the racehorse “Bal-maid” was Cornish; “braave” for *large, fine*, as in “a braave family,” “a bra’ fine day,” etc.—compare the Scotch “braw”: “Eh, ye’re a braw lad: GOD gi’ ye grace”; “bad” for *poorly*—“He’ve been bad for years,” “Yew be lookin’ *bad* in the face”; “poor” for *bad, decayed*; a rotten apple would be said to be “poor”; we also speak of a “poor temper,” and shoes that are wearing out are described as “coming poor”; “core” for the *shift* or time of work in a mine—“I be on the night core”; “passel” is used for *much, a quantity*, as, “We be ’avin’ a passel o’ rain”; “few” means *little* (as in Scotland)—“I’ll have a few broth”; a *perfume* is a “pretty smell”; “chores” are *household jobs*. A “cappen” is a *nomen generalissimum* for *master, overseer*—even a master mason is addressed as “cap’m,”

¹ Can “wisht” be the remainder of “ill-wished”? See p. 299. This word is used by Bishop Latimer in a sermon. Speaking of Adonijah’s guests (1 Kings i. 49), he says, “All was *wisht*: all their good cheer was done.”

so that captains are as plentiful with us as colonels in America ; a "flasket" is a *linen-basket* ; *lard* is "mort" ; *suet* is "kidney tallow" ; *plums* and *raisins* are "figs"—so, I understand, they are in Lancashire ; a plum pudding is called "a figgy pudden" or "a figgy dowdy" : what elsewhere, among highly civilized people, are called "figs," are here known as "*flat* figs" or "*broad* figs" ; we use "iss" for "yes," and "iss fy" for "yes, indeed" (fy=French *foi* ; in Chaucer the word appears as *foy*) ; "fitty" means *suitable, proper, sensible*—a child may be told, "You're not be'avin' fitty to the lady" : "not fitty" may mean *non compos mentis* ; to "fit" is to *prepare, make ready*—"Shall I fit 'ee a dish o' tay ?" ; "gashly" [ghastly] is *horrid* ; "half-baked" or "half-saved" are synonyms for *half-witted* ; a "crib" or "croust" is a *crust*, a *snack* ; a "crock" is an iron pot ; in the old open fireplaces a crock was put over the bread whilst it was baking ; a "buzza" is a small jar ; a tripod for a kettle to rest on is a "brandis" ; to "louster" is to do *hard work*—we have a proverb, "Ef a can't schemy, a must louser." Instead of *feeding* cattle, we "mait" them—"I be gaun to mait the pigs" a labouring man will say ; a Judge at the Assizes expressed some astonishment at the idea of *meeting* pigs ; "meat" is used for any kind of food ; no "stummick for meat" means no appetite whatsoever ; instead of *standing* we "pitch"—"I can't pitch on thickey foot," "They two maids was pitched, one on either side of 'ee" ; we also say "'ee pitched [*i.e.*, started] to groan and to 'oller" ; sometimes you are asked, "Won't you pitch a bit ?" meaning, "Won't you sit down ?" ; instead of *sitting* we "set"—a deaf old woman, on being asked by her Vicar whether she heard better in Church, replied, "Iss, sur, I've 'eard better since I 'ave a set agin the feowl" (the fowl being, of course, the lectern ; that in

Falmouth Church has been called "the goose"¹; instead of irregular or topsy-turvy we say "forth and back"—"You've got your pinny on foorth an' back"; "forthy" means forward, self-asserting; instead of growing fat, we "fall abroad"; instead of digging the ground, we "teal" [till] it—"A'es tealing 'teaties," one often hears; instead of spreading manure, we "skid" or "skate" dung. The surface of a mine is spoken of as "the grass," though not a blade of grass may be visible—our miners "come up to grass"; the surface overseer is the "grass cap'm." We are not *sick*, but we "'eave up"; a cancer is a "canster," an ulcer an "ulster," which, if it discharges, is said to "weep"; instead of *hurt* one hears "hurted"; our wrists are "*arm* wrists"; the spine is always "the spine of his back"; we lose our "*mouths*peech"; if our faculties decay, we are "totelin"; if we are distracted with pain, we are "roving" [raving?], or "in racks" or "screeches o' pain"; *physic* is expressively called "traade"; if we *die*, we are said to "pass" or "quench away." We "*make out* the gas"; we "*put* a man home"; we "shut 'ome" a door. "Plum" means *soft*—dough is described as "plum,"² so is a soft road (if sloppy, it is described as "liggy"), whilst a feather bed is known as a "plum-tye"; a *puddle* is a "plosh," which is manifestly onomatopoetic. Clotted cream is called "ream"—compare the German *Rahm*; the natural cream which rises from the milk is called "*raw*-ream"; instead of *drooping* or

¹ A Yorkshire Vicar was much perplexed when at the Easter Vestry—they were discussing some improvements—one of the Churchwardens said, "We mun hev a *doove*." The use of "set" for "sit" reminds one of the frequent misuse of "lay" for "lie." "The Dean always *lays* on Mondays," said a Cambridge bed-maker to a lady who called early one morning on the Dean of — College.

² A farmer near the Lizard—I borrow this story from Cummings's *Cury and Gunwalloe*, p. 202—being ill in bed and suffering much from distention of the stomach, was told that a pitcher of yeast had been accidentally emptied into the well from which he had drank. "Then," he cried, "that's what 'tes! I'm *plumming*!"

faded, we use the word “davered”; instead of *mildewed*, “asleep”; instead of *sheltered*, “loo”—a sheltered spot is a “looth,” in Scotch “lowan”: the towns of East and West Looe are so called from their cosy position; “suant” stands for *smooth, even*: a level road or a field regularly planted would be called “suant.” Instead of *enticing*, we “slock away”; playing *truant* is “mitching” or “minching”; a liar is a “liurd.” The *fidgets* are known as the “squitches” [twitches] or “squitchems”; a *crutch* is a “scrootch”; *squinting* is “squinny”; a *fork* is a “prong”; a gutter below the eaves is a “launder”; the wooden flooring of a room is the “planchen”; a lean-to roof is called a “linney”; a haycock is a “mow”; the farmyard where the hayricks are is the “mowhay”; black *cherries* are “mazzards”; *wasps* are “applebees”; *cocks* are “stags”—“It’s a young stag,” the poultry man will say; “you can see by its spurs”¹; a sucking-pig is a “sucker,” presently he becomes a “vear,” a little later a “slip”; a *boar* is always a “pig,” whilst a sheep under a year old is a “hog”; a cow of no particular breed is a “sparkey.” Banns of marriage, to pass to a very different subject, are called “spurrings” (compare the Scotch “speiring”)—so they are elsewhere—and people whose banns are published are said to be “prayed for”; in Lancashire they are said to be “shouted”—“t’ Canon shouted ‘em last Sunday.” And here I am reminded of a question asked in connection with myself—“Why does the Vicar give out,” it was said one day, “that these persons are to be *respectably* joined together”? Once, too, it fell to my lot to publish the banns of Billy S——. I tried hard to persuade

¹ A School Inspector who asked a child what it was recalled St. Peter to repentance, was much nonplussed when informed that it was “a stag.” The children were no less so, when he replied, “No, I don’t remember that we read anything about such cattle in connection with St. Peter’s fall.”

him that his name was William, but in vain. "Naw," he said, "'tes plain Billy," and plain Billy he was called.

All these words are in constant use; the following, I must confess, I have not heard myself, viz.: "buckaboo," or simply "bucca," for a *scarecrow*¹; a "padgedy-pow" for a *lizard*; a "janjakes" for a *snail*—in Suffolk it is a "hodmadod"; a "dishwasher" is a *wagtail*; an "airymouse" is a *bat*; a little stool is called a "cricket"; a *flail* a "drashel," i.e., a thrasher; a *mess* is a "caudle." Nor have I heard, though I believe it is common enough, "palch" for *pale*; or "fooch" for *push*; or "leery"—compare the German *leer*—for *empty*; or "jan-jansy" for *two-faced*—"Some of the servants" (a lady was told by her housekeeper) "are so jan-jansy" (Mr. Quiller Couch suggests that this word is connected with Janus, but I should doubt whether our poor people ever heard of the gentleman); or "tadly-oodly" for *tipsy*²; or "wimbly-wambly" for *giddy, unsteady*; or "piran" for *downright drunk*—St. Piran (whence Perran, Perranwell, Perranzabuloe, etc.) is the patron saint of miners, and is said to have died in a state of intoxication³; or "kiddlywink" for *public-house*; or "caprouse" for *tumult*; or "gammut" for *nonsense*; or "pilm" for *dust*; or "purgy" for *thick-set*; or "bustious" [robustious] for *stout*; or "sproil" for *strength*—"there's no sprowl about her," no push and power, is, I am told, common enough; or "haveage" for *kin*.⁴

¹ The Buckaboo is the storm-god of the old Cornish mythology. "Bucca" is also the Penzance name for the inhabitants of Newlyn St. Peter. Courtney, *Cornish Feasts*, etc., p. 29.

² Such duplications are much commoner in East Anglia, where we have "coxy-roxy" for fantastically drunk; "crawly-mawly" for weak and ailing; "hoit-a-polt," a variation of "hoity-toity"; "lag-a-rag" for lazy fellow; "quavery-mavery" for undecided; "niffle-naffle"—to trifle; and "sad-bad"—very bad. Zincke's *Wherstead*.

³ Miss Courtney quotes a Cornish saying, "As drunk as a Piraner." His feast-day (March 5th) is observed as a tinner's holiday. This shews how tanners once spent their spare time.

⁴ These last words I derive from *The Astonishing History of Troy Town*.

Nor have I been so fortunate as to meet with "giglet" for a romping girl, a tomboy¹; "tom-holla" for a loud, boastful talker; "tongue-tabbas" for a swaggerer; "hollibubber" for a quarryman who deals with the refuse of the slates; "good tummels" for a heavy crop (they will speak of "tummels of grass" or hay), or "zess" for a great fat woman.²

This is a sufficiently long list, but it would have been easy to make it much longer, especially if I had included words which are found throughout the West Country, as I observe some writers have done. It will perhaps be more entertaining if I put down a few choice Cornish phrases, some of which I have heard, whilst others I have collected from books. Here is a fearful threat—"I'll scat your chacks [cheeks] you great gashly bufflehead!" Here is a description of a *malade imaginaire*—"Ae's whiffy and whimmy and a bit hippety like." But this is entirely eclipsed by the following—"Ae's pinikin, palchy and totelin; ae's clicky and cloppy an' a kiddles and quaddles oal day; 'tes wisht": which, being translated, runs, "He's little, weakly and imbecile; he's left-handed and lame, and he fidgets idly about all day long; 'tis sad." Again—this was said by a maid of all work—"I can fouser and louser, but a can't tiddly" [I can't tidy]. A lad left in charge of the Sunday dinner whilst the family was at Church, and who, like King Alfred, had let it burn, appeared at the porch and endeavoured by his energetic signs to draw out the housewife. She in turn made signs to him to wait, when, growing impatient—so much was at stake—he cried out, to the scandal of the congregation, "Yiew may winky and skrinky as long as yiew du plase, but

¹ A Giglet-fair is (or was once) held at Launceston; it was principally attended by young men and maidens. Here the blushing swain might introduce himself *sans cérémonie* to any of the numerous nymphs.

² Iago ungallantly connects this word with the Greek σῦς, "pig," which is rather a far cry.

the figgy dowdy is burnt gin the crock." The following sagacious remark is said to have been made at a farmers' dinner at Wadebridge—"Ef oal squires wur to diew as our squire dew, there wouldn't be half as many squires dew as they dew dew." Mr. Iago gives this in a somewhat different shape. "If yiew wur to diew as yiew oft to dew, yiew wud diew a guddel better than yiew dew dew." Miss Rogers has kindly supplied me with the following, heard in the neighbourhood of Bodmin. A mother, speaking of her troublesome children, said, "There beant wan in the 'arritch [household] to scour down the planchen, or dish up the cloam, or pick a bit o' crackle in the 'adage; they be oal sa vassentrar [perverse and contrary?]; they've tooked after *our ould he*." And this. An old man at Gwennap, having had an order for some gravel, was asked whether it was ready. He replied, "Naw, Sur, but we've a got un in coose; we must buck [break] et and cob [pick over] et and spal [break smaller] et an' griddle [sift] et twice, an' then et'll be fitty."

Before I quit this subject, I must remark that the peculiarities of our speech lie, as one would expect, quite as much in the irregular use of ordinary words as in the employment of unusual terms, of words peculiar to the county. For example, a "young man" in Cornwall means a bachelor: he may be eighty years of age, but he is "young" still; it was said of a very young bride, "She du look a pretty lot better than when she was *young*." Similarly, "ould antient" is very common instead of "old." "Frightened" means *surprised*; "hurried" means *flustered*; "rash" is used for impetuous, eager—"I'm so rash that I cut myself"; "necessary" is used in the West (so I am informed) for *suitable*; "belong" expresses obligation as well as ownership—"I belong to be gauin home," "I du belong to work at the mine." Instead of "let it alone,"

we say "leave it be" or "lev un bide"; instead of "widower," "widow-man"; instead of "widow," "widow-woman"; instead of "twins," "two twains." One never hears "I think so," but "Iss, I think." We do not say "Goodbye," but "I wish 'ee well"; we never speak of April or May, but "April *month*" or "May *month*"; we use "busy all" to imply effort—"it was busy all that I caught the train." "Churching" is used of any service in the Church, an idiom which once led to a laughable blunder in our own parish. A Curate recently imported into the county was saying Evensong, as it happened, without any congregation; the bell had been duly tolled, but nobody appeared. As he neared the end of his devotions, however, a young woman entered and sat down. As she was still seated and waiting at the end of his silent service, he went to her and asked what her mission was. She replied that she had understood there was "churching." "Certainly, there is," he said, whereupon he conducted her to the usual place and proceeded to "church" her in due form. As she was a girl of spotless character, though of dull understanding, it will readily be believed that this function, when she had grasped its import, gave neither her nor her friends much satisfaction. "Churching," as it is understood elsewhere—that service is here called "upraising"—has almost died out amongst our poor. But to return to our *usus loquendi*. The auxiliary verb "do" is very much *en evidence*: "I du theenk like this 'ere." "Tell 'ee what 'tes, maister," said Billy Bray, the Methodist, to Canon Rogers, "yiew du love pace and quietness in religion, and we du dearly love a naise." Then, an archaism is traceable in such expressions as "'E 'ave a been," "'E 'ave a dun et" (compare, "Forty and six years was this temple a building," as we read in Tyndale's, Cranmer's, and the Genevan versions). The pronouns are in glorious confusion, though this is not

peculiar to Cornwall. I think it was in Wiltshire that a local preacher, being asked how he came to expound Scripture so fluently, when he could not read a word of it, made answer, "They reads to *oi*, an' *oi* expounds to *they*,"¹ and I quite forget where it was that a traveller, hearing a woman (as he thought) calling to some children, directed their attention to her, and then was told, "*Her* isn't a calling *we*; *us* doesn't belong to *she*," but right across the country, in Suffolk, they would say, "I heard *he* and saw *she*," just as in Cornwall. A gardener, for example, on being told to consult his wife, replied, "I don't pay no regard to *she*." Hardly less noticeable are our terms of endearment. "My dear" is used in addressing both men and women, with rigid impartiality. "Aw, my dear!" is an everyday ejaculation, so is "My dear life!" A little child is always "tender dear" or "My 'ansome," sometimes even "tender worm," whilst "son" and "sonnie" are freely used quite irrespective of paternity. I have heard a lad address his father as "My son," and some go so far as to use this form of speech to their *wives*. Speaking of husbands and wives, I must advert to a formula which we often see in Cornish cemeteries, "Sacred to the memory of John, the *beloved husband* of Jane —!" as if that fact constituted his claim to remembrance, or as if, at any rate, "the grey mare were the better horse." I may also observe that wives are still sometimes described by their maiden name. "She's called —," they will sometimes add, "by her husband."

Miss Rogers tells me she has remarked some extremely nice and accurate distinctions used in speaking of places, but I suspect that they are more or less common to all country districts. At Gwennap they spoke of going *up* to St. Day

¹ I have come across several instances of local preachers who can neither read nor write. Some of these are said to be the most popular of their order.

(which stands high), *in* to Redruth (the market town), *over* to Camborne (which is some miles away), *away* to Penzance (which is still farther off), *out* to Perran (on the North coast) and *down* to Falmouth (on the South coast), *down along* to Frogpool (in the same direction) and *out* Ferny way.

I conclude with two expressions of everyday occurrence, which spring out of the piety of our people. One is the abbreviated Doxology, "Thanks be"; the other an expression of resignation, "If it be so pleasin'." I have never heard them elsewhere. Just as the Irishman says "Thank *GOD*," where the Englishman says "Thank *you*," they tell their tale as to the devout Cornish character.

Now I proceed to speak of our Cornish

CUISINE—

no unimportant matter, in the opinion of most people. John Wesley observed that this was "the best place he knew for getting an appetite and about the worst for getting it satisfied." He was speaking of the lack of houses of refreshment, a reproach to which we are still exposed, but I incline to think that the observation is true in other ways; I should, however, say that a traveller whom I met in the train informed me that St. Austell ever lived in his memory as the place where he had had the biggest dinner at the most moderate price. And I have no doubt that those who can accommodate pasties and saffron cake will have no complaints to make of insufficiency of supply or exorbitancy of charge, but we have not all stomachs or palates of the same robust order. The pasty is our *pièce de résistance*¹—children, so far as I can see, are weaned on them;

¹ "We had heard that Cornwall was very famous for pasties, so we asked our landlady to-day to make us one. We were rather disappointed in it, as the grand name of 'pasty' had led us to expect some imposing dish, reminding us of ancient baronial feasts, and it turned out to be a little common mutton pie, with the addition of tiny scraps of potato." Miss Bragge, *Sketches in Cornwall*, p. 22.

it is very significant that Brazil nuts are here known as "pasty nuts," and the segments of an orange as "pasties"—the shape recalls that familiar article. One sees it everywhere: you shall find the waggoner in our streets, or the hedger and ditcher in our lanes, munching his daily pasty with infinite content, holding the lower half in a bag or piece of newspaper whilst he works away at the upper end. (This pasty-bag is quite an institution amongst us; it is called "Hoggan-bag" or "Hobben-bag.") As to the composition of a pasty there is no limit; the question is not what *may* enter into it, but what *may not*; the devil, according to the common saying, leaves Cornwall severely alone, because he fears it might be his unhappy fate to be sliced and served up in pasty form. And hereby hangs a tale; I vouch for its absolute truth. A gardener or hind at one of our houses was used to have his mid-day pasty, which he regularly brought with him in the morning, warmed in the kitchen oven, and he would eat it in the servants' hall when they had their dinner. One day the cook remarked that it was of inordinate length; however, it was warmed and set before him on a plate as usual. But when he proceeded to dissect it, his jaw dropped and his face became a study, as he gradually extracted from under the crust half the leg of a chair! It appeared that he had lately had a little tiff with his wife, and had broken a chair leg either over her or under her, and this was her revenge. Next to the pasty comes the pie—Cornwall is famous for its pies—of which only two or three varieties can be mentioned here. The first is *squab-pie*, which is a sort of hotchpot, and embraces mutton, or other meat, apples, onions, raisins, sugar, pepper and salt. This—*crede experto*—is very good: it is a dainty dish to set before a king. *Sour-sab pie* is made with the most juicy stems and leaves of the common

sorrel. *Staring-pie*, or *starry-gazy* pie, is compounded principally of leeks and pilchards, and is so called because the noses of the fish peer through the crust. *Leeky-pie* is made of leeks and cream; if you can get conger to put into it, so much the better. *Muggetty*—muggets are sheeps' entrails—and *mackerel* pies are also eaten with cream, with a flavouring of parsley. *Sparable-pie* is a figure of speech for something sour and unpalatable—"I'll give 'ee some sparrable-pie"—the same dish which is elsewhere known as "tongue-pie." The puddings of the peninsula are not among its strong points, always excepting the "figgy pudden'" already referred to, which is in great favour; it is a common saying that a Cornishman's idea of happiness is "a fresh preacher and a figgy pudding every Sunday." Their cakes, too, are, *me judice*, indifferent—needless to say, they don't think so: one is reminded of what the lively French woman said of America, "One sauce and a hundred and one religions." In St. Austell we have eleven denominations and but one or two cakes in general use—one is the "saffron cake" (*saffern* they pronounce it), which to "foreigners" has a fine flavour of the drug shop, but is prodigiously popular among the natives; those who like it care for no other cake. So much is it prized that in former years it was constantly sent—a pinch of it—in letters to Cornishmen abroad. They also make a "heavy cake," which they compound with cream. Muffins and crumpets we have to import from the Midlands; the natives generally are content with the "split," a fat sort of *Brödchen*, which they cut in two, and then smear with butter, or with cream and jam or treacle, which latter compound is popularly known as "thunder and lightning." This is esteemed a great delicacy, but it requires no little practice to eat it gracefully. Cream, *Anglice* "clotted cream"—nothing offends us more than to call it "Devonshire cream,"

as uninstructed persons sometimes do—figures largely in all our cookery. It is the Sunday treat even of the poorest families who can afford a treat at all, and I am happy to say that we have no grinding poverty in our town. It is so identified with our county, this cream, that there are those who maintain that it was for this, and not for our tin, that the Phœnicians came to our shores, the curds or *lebben* now found in Palestine being cousin-German to Cornish cream—"He asked for water . . . she brought forth curds." Housewives "up-country," that is to say, beyond the Tamar, may be interested to hear that our cream is easily convertible, without any churning, into butter; it simply requires to work it in the hand. A Cornish dairy is simplicity itself, compared with, say, a Cheshire dairy. The principal article of furniture is the pan in which the milk simmers over the fire. Our beverages are very simple—as Warner observed in his day,¹ they are "chiefly water and tea, of which (he means the tea) many of them are so fond that they drink it with their dinners." He might have added that some of them stew the tea, to extract all its potency, and keep the teapot on the hob, so as to have the cup that cheers always within their reach. And it may not be amiss if I set down here THE GRACE with which some of "our people" are *said* to begin and to end their meals; I cannot vouch for them myself, as I have never heard them. "The Grace before meat" is said to take this form—

"LORD mek us able
To eat what's upon table";

that which concludes the repast to run as follows—

"The LORD be praised
Wer stummicks be aised."

¹ *Tour through Cornwall*, p. 299.

CHAPTER XX.

OUR SUPERSTITIONS.

NO account of "our people" could possibly be complete which passed over the subject of charms and superstitions. I imagine that few "foreigners" have any idea how deeply rooted is the belief in charms in the Cornishman's bosom. Superstitions not a few no doubt are found elsewhere,¹ but I know of no region with the same robust faith in charms.² Elsewhere they may be resorted to *sub rosa*; here they are proclaimed from the housetops; any elderly Cornishman of the humbler class will talk to you quite freely on the subject. I first came into close contact with this belief in a sick room, where was an old man much tortured by eczema. He had just had a visit from the prayer leader, who had carried thence a handkerchief to the blacksmith's. It was

¹ Certainly they are in "silly Suffolk." Zincke tells of a woman who baked a duck alive *pour encourager les autres*—to make the survivors lay. Bees are still told of a death in the family: some people will even put crape round the hive, just as in West Cornwall they put mourning on plants after a death, to prevent their withering away. (*Walks about St. Hilary*, p. 94.) All over England the croak of a raven or the howling of a dog foretells death; so does a cat looking in at the window. Similarly, the nail that has lamed a horse must be kept bright and greased if the animal is to recover. And what county is there where a cast-off horseshoe is not supposed to bring luck, or people do not dislike to spill the salt at dinner. Even in Paris, thousands avoid travelling on Fridays.

² "The strong superstitious feelings of the ancient days of Cornwall still survive and promise to remain." Wilkie Collins, p. 85. He does not, however, allege much proof. He mentions that a boy was being treated by a doctor for a wound in the back, caused by a pitchfork. The friends, to assist the cure, kept the weapon in a state of high polish. But this they would do in Suffolk and elsewhere.

somehow charmed at the smithy, and was then applied to old B——'s back, I regret to say without producing any marked effect. I mentioned this, or some similar incident, as a sort of curiosity, at my wife's mothers' meeting, when I speedily discovered that there was not a Cornish woman present who did not regard it as quite a natural and proper thing to do. Subsequently I became fast friends with an old and very dirty charmer, so much so that he has transmitted his powers to one of my own family; I fear we have not benefitted by them as he intended us to do. (I should explain, perhaps, that a man can only impart the gift to a woman and *vice versâ*, and that if the recipient does not guard the secret from profane eyes and ears, he loses the power to charm.) Anyhow, I have in my possession some of his *formulae*, which I will share with the reader; they are mostly in request for burns and scalds, for sore eyes, for warts, for stopping bleeding, for fevers, for extinguishing fires, and for healing divers diseases of animals. I write them down just as they were given to me, but they must be used by persons who have the gift, and this they cannot have without faith.

FOR AGUES AND FEVERS.

“When our SAVIOUR was upon the Cross to be crucified He were troubled with a quivering and a shaking. I asked Him if He were troubled with an ague. He answered, ‘No, I am not, nor he that believeth in Me shall not be troubled with the ague nor the feavour.’”

TO STOP BLEEDING.

“CHRIST was born in Bethlehem, baptized in the river of Jordan, and as the waters stood still, so shall the blood stand still in thee, A—— B——. In the Name of the FATHER,” etc. Another form is to repeat Ezekiel xvi. 6.

FOR A THORN.

"When CHRIST was upon earth, He was stabbed, and the blood flew up to heaven. But the thorn that stabbed [thee] shall neither rot nor rankle, but it shall die. In the Name of the FATHER," etc.¹

FOR AN ADDER

it is only necessary to repeat Psalm lxviii. 1, 2, and this is held to be equally efficacious for driving the venomous beast away and for curing its bite. Some persons, however, in order to charm a snake, also draw a circle around it on the ground, and make a cross inside the circle.

FOR CURING THE KING'S EVIL

there is nothing like the hand of a dead person of the opposite sex passed nine times over the place or round the neck, but then you should also bury one of the handkerchiefs of the patient in the coffin with the dead. Another plan is to take the napkin from the face of the dead, tie it round your neck, and wear it till the time of the funeral. You must then follow with the mourners, and drop the napkin on the coffin after it has been lowered into the grave.² This, I suppose, shifts the complaint to the corpse.

FOR A BURN OR A SCALD.

Blow three times on the place, and say nine times—

"Two little angels came from the East,
One brought Fire and the other brought Frost;
Out Fire, in Frost.

In the Name of the FATHER," etc.³

¹ Miss Courtney cites a rhyming formula for the same purpose—

"CHRIST was of a Virgin born,
And He was prickéd by a thorn;
And it did never bele [fester],
And I trust in JESUS this never will."

² "The belief in the efficacy of a dead hand in curing diseases in Cornwall is marvellous." Courtney, p. 152. This charm is especially good for sore eyes.

³ Miss Courtney gives this charm in a slightly different form.

FOR CORNS.

On seeing the new moon (it must not be seen *through glass*) for the first time, bare the foot and show the corns to the moon, and say the following sentence nine times, pointing the while to the corns and the moon—"Corns down here, Nary waun up there."

FOR TOOTHACHE.

"As JESUS passed by He saw Peter sitting on a marble stone, and JESUS said, 'What aileth thee?' And Peter replied, 'O, my LORD, the toothache.' And JESUS said, 'Take this, and thou shalt no more have the toothache.'" This may be muttered by a charmer over the sufferer. But if written on paper and kept in a box near the patient, it will prevent an attack.

FOR WHOOPING COUGH.

Cut a little hair from the shoulder of a donkey at the point of the shoulder where the cross is ; put it into a bag and hang it round the child's neck. The donkey must be of the opposite sex to the child.¹ Here is another charm, which I give in the very words in which it was imparted to a friend—"Take a mouse ; 'tes a clean eatin' animal, sur ; kill un and roast un as black as a coal ; then put un in a pessle and mortar and pound un up and put milk to un, an' clunk et down, an' et'll cure 'ee." Here is a third—I give it in case the others should unhappily fail—"Take a clean pocket-handkerchief and spread it under the nose of a donkey ; give the animal a piece of white bread ; take up the crumbs that will fall ; mix them with milk and drink the mixture."

FOR THE SWELLING OF THE GLANDS.

Go before sunrise on May Day to the grave of the last young woman buried in the parish—presuming that the patient is of

¹ A piece of a donkey's ear is sometimes used for a cough.

male sex ; if of the female order, to a man's grave—and apply some of the dew on the grave to the swelling.

TO PREVENT OR UNDO WITCHCRAFT

this formula, written on paper, is efficacious, provided it be not exhibited to anyone—

R O T A S
O P E R A
T E N E T
A R E P O
S A T O R

It will be observed that, whichever way it is read, the same words result. If a person feels that he has been bewitched, one plan strongly recommended is to scratch the face of (and so draw blood from) the person who has laid his spell upon you. Other measures are sometimes resorted to, which my modest pen hesitates to explain.

FOR WARTS

I have not been favoured with any prescriptions, but Miss Courtney says one plan is to rub them with a piece of *stolen* beef, which must then be buried. It is believed that as the beef decays the warts will wither away. Another method of treatment is to touch them with a knot made in a piece of string—as many knots as there are warts—which must then be buried as before. Or you may touch each wart with a pebble, put the pebbles into a bag, and throw it away. This last device has the additional recommendation that the finder will have the warts instead of you.

For the following magical remedies or rules I am also indebted to Miss Courtney's pages. A piece of a stale Good Friday bun, grated into a glass of water, is good for most

complaints. A knuckle-bone carried in the pocket is a protection against cramp, a bit of potatoe against rheumatism, a bit of forked ash will cure the ague, whilst the tip of a dried ox-tongue will bring you good luck. A sty on the eyelid may be stroked nine times with a cat's tail. A coral necklace round a baby's throat will ensure easy teething. It conduces greatly to easy birth or easy death to unfasten all the locks in the house. You should cut your hair when the moon is at the full, if you would not have it fall off. If you rock an empty cradle, you will have a large family—

"Rock the cradle empty,
You'll rock the babies plenty."¹

It will bring you good luck if on your first sight of the new moon—seen *outside* the house—you curtsy, spit on your money and keys and turn them in your pocket. It is very unlucky to wash on Innocents' Day—this rule is still observed in St. Austell; it is about the only Saint's Day we keep. Seeds sown on Good Friday are sure to grow. If you particularly want anything, look on the new moon and *wish* for it before you speak.

The same agreeable writer tells us that this happened near St. Austell in 1839. A woman was seen to approach a grave. She stood at the side and seemed to mutter some words. She then drew from under her cloak a good-sized piece of cake, threw it into the grave, and departed. The cake was composed of oatmeal and dog's urine. This was done to cure the yellow jaundice. At Sancreed, as late as 1883, a girl with whooping cough was passed nine times under a donkey's belly, from a man on one side to a woman on the other, a boy meanwhile feeding the animal with "cribs."

¹ Cummings, p. 206, gives us the following as a Cornish belief—

"Cross a stile and a gate hard by,
And you'll be a widow before you die."

Elsewhere she states that spiders' webs sometimes escape destruction, through the belief that such a web concealed our LORD, as He lay in the manger, from the messengers of Herod. Also that the "knockers" who cause the noises sometimes heard underground (see p. 359) are none other than the imprisoned spirits of the Jews who crucified Him. She adds that clergymen are still supposed to be able to exorcise evil spirits. I must say that none of my parishioners have betrayed any such amiable weakness.

Mr. Hawker¹ quotes as a superstition firmly rooted in the Cornish mind—

"Save a stranger from the sea,
And he'll turn your enemy."

and no doubt that is the case. But a somewhat similar belief is found all over Europe. He further says that two-thirds of the people West of the Tamar believe in the power of an evil eye,² but so do the Italians—do they not speak of *mal occhio*?—so do the *fellahin* of Egypt and Palestine; so does the mild Hindoo. He records a remedy for its malign influence, or a way of getting rid of it. It is to go to the Sacrament, hide a piece of the consecrated bread and carry it about with you; it is curious that Irish priests, who are often taken from the lowest peasant class, have recourse to this expedient to awe their parishioners; at least, the witnesses in a recent trial so believed. Hawker also says that when the "milky mothers of the herd" rush, as in a panic, from field to field, it is only because they have been ill-wished; so have sheep whose lambs are born dead; so have cattle of any kind which sicken and die.

He also mentions among our superstitions that the great charmer of charms is a seventh son, born in direct succession from the same father and mother. But I must again remark

¹ *Footprints of Former Men*, p. 190.

² Page 165.

that this is an antient and widespread belief—I met with it recently, curiously enough, in one of the State Papers.

For the following contributions I am indebted to Miss Beatrice Rogers. “My dear,” said an old goody to her, “ef your dawg du lose his 'air, yiew mix up some hoil, gun-powder, and the hashes of an old shoe—that'll make 'air grow 'pon a board.” “My neighbour,” remarked another, “put up a blue shawl t'other day”—as a protection against lightning—“but 'ee come through so blue as bluein', and she was fo'ced to 'eave down the shawl and clap up a blanket 'gin the winder.” A blanket is believed to be an impenetrable defence. Again, she has repeatedly met with the belief that dying persons cannot “pass” peacefully, if the bed in which they lie crosses the boards of the room. A young person thus described her mother's departure. “She was a fine long time goin' off, shure 'nuff. Betsy an' me was setting down in the kitchen, talking about 'er. ‘Well,’ says I, ‘I can't thenk 'ow she doan't go off aisy.’ ‘Law,’ says Betsy, ‘I du know what 'tes : the bed is athurt the planchen ; lev us go up and 'eave un round.’ So we went up and 'eaved un round, and she went off like a beaby.” Poor soul, well she might ! As a remedy for rheumatism she has met with the following—A ha'porth of mustard boiled in a pint of beer. “I reckon,” said an old crone, “I've a tuk up twenty-seven quarts av it, an' et 'ave a dun me a power o' good !” I conclude this long list with two remedies which have come under my own observation. The first is, a teaspoonful of shot for heartburn, which hereabouts is called “the rising of the lights.” The other was for influenza—it is, if equally heroic, of a much more pleasing character. “I bought,” said a labouring man, “a bottle of whiskey and half a dozen of stout and mixed un together, and kept at un. I thought I'd *hit un hard*.”

I seem to notice a peculiar sentiment (or lack of it) on the subject of death throughout the Duchy, nor am I sure that it is strictly confined to the Duchy. It is astonishing how coolly they will discuss a sick man's chances before his face; sometimes they have no hesitation in settling how long he is going to live. I know of one case where a man comforted his dying wife with the assurance that he had already procured her coffin, and had got it more cheaply than he at first expected. I must say, however, that they speak about their own coffins with equal *sangfroid*; a girl who had had a little *affaire de cœur* which did not run smoothly, had herself measured for hers and *slept* in it for years; it is not unusual here, I may remark, for girls who have had a disappointment to take resolutely to their *beds*, but I have only heard of one who proceeded to this last extremity. But it is not only hysterical maidens who buy their coffins in advance, as the following conversation, which took place between two florid farmers, will prove—

Farmer A.—"I du b'lave my booy's beant moinded to give me a fitty bewrial. So I have a been and boughten me own coffun."

Farmer B.—"Where du 'ee keep un to?"

A.—"Under me bed. Doan't leave no one touch un but meself."

B.—"Been in un, 'ave 'ee?"

A.—"Iss, scores o' times. 'Ee galled me a bit round the shoulders, first goin' off, but now 'ee du fit proper."

B.—"Keep anything in un?"

A.—"Iss; seed pertaters, or happles, or honions, or hany-thing that be gauin'." ¹

¹ The Boers, who often live hundreds of miles away from timber, will frequently, when they go to a town, bring their coffins back with them. They are conspicuous objects in many of the farmhouses, and are used as storeplaces for fruit.

Closely allied to such a feeling as this is the Cornish love for a "fooner." That the friends are not unduly lugubrious on such occasions may be gathered from this couplet, which I borrow from Tregellas—

"To shaw our sperrits, lev us petch
The laast new berryin' tune."

I must allow, however, that of late years our "berrying" tunes are seldom heard; the dirges with which they once carried the dead to their long home have somehow gone out of fashion, at least in this neighbourhood.

But to return to our superstitions. I conclude this excursus by borrowing some materials from a paper which a Redruth gentleman, who modestly wishes me to withhold his name, has been so good as to prepare for me. They deal mainly with the misbeliefs of *miners*, of which I myself have had very little experience. He tells me, for example, that whistling under ground is held to be obnoxious to the spirits of the mine; so also, one is glad to hear, is swearing. "Sir," said an old miner to him, "the fust thing as I was towld when I went belaw grass was that I should 'ave me skull bate in ef I cocked lip under tha adit level"—he meant that a piece of rock would fall and crush him.¹ The "spirits of the mine" just mentioned are almost as much dreaded by the Cornishman as the *manes* of his ancestors by the Chinaman, and a Chinaman's brain has been described as a "chamber of horrors." They call them "nuggies" or "knockers"; they are what other people understand by *elves* or *gnomes*. These "little old men," as just observed, cause the strange noises so often heard underground, the sounds of digging, of the fall of "stuff," of

¹ The following rhyme is said to be current among miners—

"Whistling by night Brings spirits in sight,
Whistling by day Drives them away."

the patter of tiny feet, and so forth.¹ But it is not "below grass" only that the fairies are to be feared; many a miner will tell alarming stories of his being "pixy-led," probably by some seducing light which decoyed him from the highway into the crofts, where he was doomed to wander until some friendly bank or other obstacle served to break the spell.² I understand that the most effectual remedy is to divest yourself of your clothing and to turn it inside out. Many are the stories, too, told of apparitions in the "bal"—here is a specimen. In one of the treacherous "ends," where so much care is needed to avert accidents, a miner had been killed by the fall of a heavy piece of rock. Some weeks later, A—— S——, the old miner already mentioned, had to visit this part of the mine. As he approached the scene of the accident, he was startled to observe a puff of smoke, as he described it, which circled round and round and then gathered itself into a sort of tiny cloud, which hung suspended a few feet above the ground. Surprise gave place to terror, as the smoke gradually assumed the form of his dead comrade, who, by his excited gestures, seemed to warn him of an approaching danger. Instinctively he fell back, but only just in time to escape an awful death; a moment later the ground was strewn with the *débris* of a great fall of earth and rock. Needless to say that to his dying hour A—— S—— believed that this apparition was vouchsafed him to rescue him from instant destruction.

¹ My informant accounts for these weird and gruesome noises in a very natural way. "Water," he says, "in subterranean workings, dropping from the top of a level on to stones or into pools, may be heard at a distance of quite fifty fathoms, and the passage of sound through these irregular tunnels assumes a singular and unusual expression." Had not miners feared to approach the spot, they might have readily discovered a solution of the problem.

² There is a *Pixy* or *Piskey Hill*, near Camelford, where of old (if not now) the way-faring man would turn out his pockets to guard against bewitchment.

But in this favoured county apparitions are by no means to be seen and heard underground only ; these ghostly forms will venture forth even into the light of day. Here is an instance connected with the neighbourhood of St. Austell. A—— B—— was returning from “bal” one summer evening, when he saw before him a pale, bluish light. He realized at once that he was pixy-led, but felt unable to destroy the spell, and blindly followed for some time. He was becoming exhausted when the light disappeared, but only to be replaced by a human form—that of a man wheeling a barrow. He swears that he saw this man as distinctly as he ever saw anything in his life ; that the apparition approached him, whilst he stood rooted to the spot, unable to move with terror ; that it came nearer and nearer, with noiseless tread, until it was quite close, when he burst into a long and loud cry for help, at which the spectre stopped and seemed to melt into the ground a few feet away. A—— B—— was a stranger to the neighbourhood at that time, but the natives soon informed him that, a few years before, a miner driving a wheelbarrow across the same crofts had walked right into a disused and unprotected shaft, from which his body had never been recovered.

Here is another. W—— T——, of Mount Hawke, will tell you that he, his mother and his sister, after spending a social, but strictly sober evening at a friend's house, were returning home, when they suddenly became aware of a man walking a few yards ahead of them. Presently they quickened their pace ; the apparition did the same. Prompted by curiosity, W—— T—— began to run, but in vain ; this mysterious visitor always kept the same distance ahead. At the cross roads, however, the padfoot—every step of his was perfectly noiseless—vanished into thin air. There are three persons prepared to swear to it ; and the more so, as a few weeks later

they learned that on that night and at that hour W—— T——, senior, husband of one of the party and father of the other two, was killed in North America.¹

But that is not all; the wraiths of *living* men will sometimes, apparently without rhyme or reason, exhibit themselves to their friends. We can understand and respect a ghost that haunts the scene of his murder, or of his murdering somebody else, or who "walks" until a lost will is recovered or a wrong is redressed, but what shall we say of T—— P——, a timberman in a mine near Lanner? His sister, Grace A——, was one day tidying her little front parlour, when she was surprised to see him open the garden gate and slowly make his way up the long path to the house. She called to her sister to come to the window, for she was struck with something in his appearance, and it was long before the hour fixed for his return. The sister immediately exclaimed, "My dear Grace, how pale he's looking! I hope he isn't hurted." They hurried to the door to admit him, but he was nowhere to be seen; they called him

¹ I confess to a belief in apparitions, or impressions as vivid as apparitions, of this order; the evidence appears to me to be insuperable. I give one instance which has come under my own immediate notice. There was not in all St. Austell parish a truer, more honest and cheery, less sentimental and less imaginative a person than H—— D——, an old man-o'-war's man. I took down the following narrative (he can neither read nor write) from his lips on June 3rd, 1889:—"I was serving in *The Revenge* under Captain W. Waldegrave in 1839 or thereabouts—I cannot now be sure of the day or year; I never thought of its importance then. We were lying in the Tagus, and one morning, between two and three, whilst stretched wide awake in my hammock, I saw my brother Roger, then a seaman (I think it was in *The Cornwallis*, and that she was coming round the Cape), in his bodily shape, in sailor's dress. I was lying back in the hammock, when he came and looked at me. It gave me a terrible shock. I lay still, and he vanished. I had time to speak to him, if I had had the presence of mind so to do; he looked at me for two or three seconds. A month or two afterwards I had a letter from England, saying that at that hour he fell out of the rigging; he had been washing his clothes, and was hanging them out to dry; he had just told a sergeant of marines that he felt a terrible pain in his head. However, he was drowned, and the body was never recovered. At the same hour my mother, Martha D——, then living at Bere Ferris, Devon, saw the same appearance. Roger stood at the foot of her bed and looked at her. I told my mates about it, but they only laughed at me until the letter came."

by name, but there was no reply. Thoroughly alarmed, they ran to tell a neighbour, an old woman two or three doors away, what they had seen. She must have had a large and pleasing experience of ghostly visitations, for "her wrinkled features beamed" as she said, "Don't 'ee be afeard, my deears; 'tes awnly 'ees ghost; 'ees sure to live to a good old age"—which, in fact, he has done. On his return in the evening, the sisters, as may well be believed, questioned him as to his extraordinary conduct, but he stoutly maintained that he had been "below grass" all day, and had experienced nothing particular. Why in that case he should "walk" and terrify honest people out of their wits remains a mystery. However, nothing came of it; "'Tes nigh upon fifty years agone," said Grace, as she concluded the story, "and he's still as keen for 'baccy and for ale as ever." It is consolatory to find that one may appear to one's friends without at all impairing a vigorous appetite.

That the Cornish, or at least the middle and lower classes in the county, have a firm faith in dreams, goes without the saying, for the Cornishman is by no means singular in this respect; the belief in dreams, however, is perhaps more robust and widespread here than elsewhere. Mrs. Bonham, in her *Corner of Old Cornwall*, vouches for the following incident. A farmer's wife dreamt that if she dug in a certain part of a certain cove she would find a vessel full of gold coins. Next morning she told her dream at the family breakfast, and asked who would go with her to the spot, but they all laughed at the idea. The next night she dreamt the same thing over again, and so she did the third night, after which two of her sons agreed to go with her and do the necessary digging. When they reached the spot they found men there, and as they went up to them one of them struck his spade against the vessel and revealed the coins. They also, or one of them, had had

a similar dream, and they were first on the spot, and so reaped the harvest of hid treasure.

It is in connection with approaching death or disaster, however, that the visions of the night appeal most powerfully to the faith or credulity of "our people"; can we wonder at it when we remember how few marriages there are in May throughout England, and how many intelligent persons stoutly object to sit down thirteen to dinner? Here is one story. Twenty years ago a miner, working near Pachuca, in Mexico, dreamed that his beloved daughter had passed away from his and her Cornish home. It seemed to him that her cold hand was laid on his brow, and that he heard her say distinctly, in the old familiar tone, "Oh, father." He at once concluded that it was a warning, and learnt without surprise that she did actually die on the following night, after uttering some such words as these.

Then there is the dream, thrice repeated in one night, of Mr. Williams, of Scorrier, who saw Mr. Percival shot in the lobby of the House of Commons. But the story is so familiar, to Cornishmen at least, that I cannot persuade my pen to repeat it. Let us go back to the Redruth MS. I learn from it that rats, though they are rare in deep mines, are believed to have sometimes warned the miner, by their shrill scream, of danger from the fall of rock. Toads are equally rare, and it is an augury of good luck to find one. Said an old miner, "Once, when lookin' at a piece, I saw a toad jump out from behind some rubble; 'pon that I goes to the cap'm, and, ses I, 'I'll take that end on tribit for six months.' We agreed for price, and I tell 'ee, never afore nor sence 'ev I 'ad such a payin' job." Spiders are also thought to be harbingers of good fortune; some families aver that all their prosperity has been heralded, if it has not been caused, by a spider's descent upon

the nose or cheeks of one of their number. On the other hand, it is considered unlucky to go back to fetch anything that you have forgotten ; if you do, you must stop there. This belief has been embodied in verse—

“Forget, return, and there remain,
Or bad luck follows in your train.”

A miner, for example, who on changing his garments in the “dry” has left his “clay” or his “croust” in his coat pocket, would never return, however much time he might have at his disposal, to fetch it. Occult science has, however, devised means of averting the threatened mischief. My correspondent says that once at Illogan a man entered a room where he and several others were seated, and without saying a word or seeming to be conscious of their presence, drew a chair to the fire, sat down before it, and for some ten minutes gazed silently into the coals, after which he took up a canvas bag that lay on the sofa, wished them all “Good day” and departed. This was *his* way of counteracting the ill-luck which his return would otherwise have brought him. It is also unlucky to throw bones into the fire ; if you do, *your* bones will drop off or rot away. But, as may well be imagined, of unlucky things to do there is no end ; as we hear of this and that, we can only stand amazed that we have taken no more harm.

Redruth would seem to be rich in charmers and wizards, or is it only that they have found a *sacer vates* in the person of my informant ? For over twenty years B—— M—— has driven a lucrative trade as a fortune-teller, though people do say that there is a striking similarity between all her prophecies. Those who have satisfied her modest demands learn to their satisfaction that they will marry well, then go abroad¹ to

¹ It is quite a custom in Cornwall for young fellows about to emigrate to marry just before their departure, leaving their disconsolate brides behind them. I have known

amass wealth, with which they will return to live happily ever afterwards. Be that as it may, her fame has extended as far as to "London Church town," for she tells with no little pride of a lady who came all the way from the metropolis to consult her, but as she came on a Sunday, Bella could not be induced to consider her case; no "gain of money" would persuade this antient witch to "break the Sabbath." Mrs. G——, another wise woman of the West, had clients in every grade of society. Her usual fee was "three and a tanner," but small quantities of tea, flour and bacon have been accepted from the impecunious. In the seventies, and in the gloaming, her house would often be besieged by visitors. The charms she supplied them with were usually dried herbs or salt, stored in small cotton bags; these phylacteries, if worn on the chest night and day, preserved the happy possessor from bewitchment, the evil eye, bad legs, sore throats, and all manner of disease. The speciality of A—— R—— was the charming of blood. M—— E—— had a kennal stone, which, when passed over the eye, cured it of all complaints present and future. J—— P—— was renowned for his poultices, which were singularly efficacious in inflammations and "joint-racking rheums"; for toothache, warts and chilblains he had recourse to charms. "Jimmy the Wizard," at Camborne, appears to have been proficient in *all* things pertaining to his craft. But whatever good these Cornish "medicine men" accomplished, it was certainly not unmixed with harm, as the following story, for every detail of which my informant vouches, proves: this thing happened at Bodmin, not two years ago. Mr. P—— of that town was laid low by a disorder of some kind, which baffled the skill of the doctors,

cases where they have gone straight from the Church porch to the Railway Station, but it is perhaps more usual to depart after a week or a month of matrimony.

whereupon a wise woman pronounced him to be bewitched. "He has been bewitched," she said to the wife, "by a person whom you little suspect. He attends the same chapel as your husband; he will call in the course of a day or two to inquire for him. Mr. P—— will gradually recover his health, and the man who has bewitched him will succeed to his complaint." Two days later, Mr. B—— called with his kind inquiries; of course, he was suspected; a little later on, he was accused; his health gave way under the distress which these aspersions caused him; Mr. P—— did recover, and the prophecy was triumphantly fulfilled, but at the cost of a cruel estrangement.

But I have dwelt long enough on this subject of superstition. I ought properly to conclude with some remarks on the state and quality of religion in the county, for to appraise a Cornishman and to ignore his religiousness is like the play of *Hamlet* with the person of Hamlet left out. On reflection, however, I have decided to say nothing on this, to my thinking, first and highest of all questions, for I cannot but fear lest the language I should use, however charitable and even appreciative it might be, might be misconstrued—"our unhappy divisions" have made us so sensitive and so suspicious—and I should be sorry indeed if this history of A CORNISH PARISH caused any feeling of pain or dissatisfaction to any one of OUR PEOPLE. And so I will conclude my task by expressing the hope that there is not one word in these pages to wound the most sensitive of my readers; I wish I could also cherish the hope that he has found anything like the same amount of pleasure in reading that I have experienced in compiling this ACCOUNT OF ST. AUSTELL. Be that as it may, I take my leave of the gentle reader with the homely but cordial Cornish phrase, "I wish 'ee well."

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